

Interests of Ireland:

A NEW METHOD;

WITH CONFIDENT HOPES TO ATTACH

THE

LOWER CLASSES

TO THE LAWS AND CONSTITUTION,

BY MEANS WHICH CANNOT POSSIBLY INTERFERE WITH

CHURCH OR STATE.

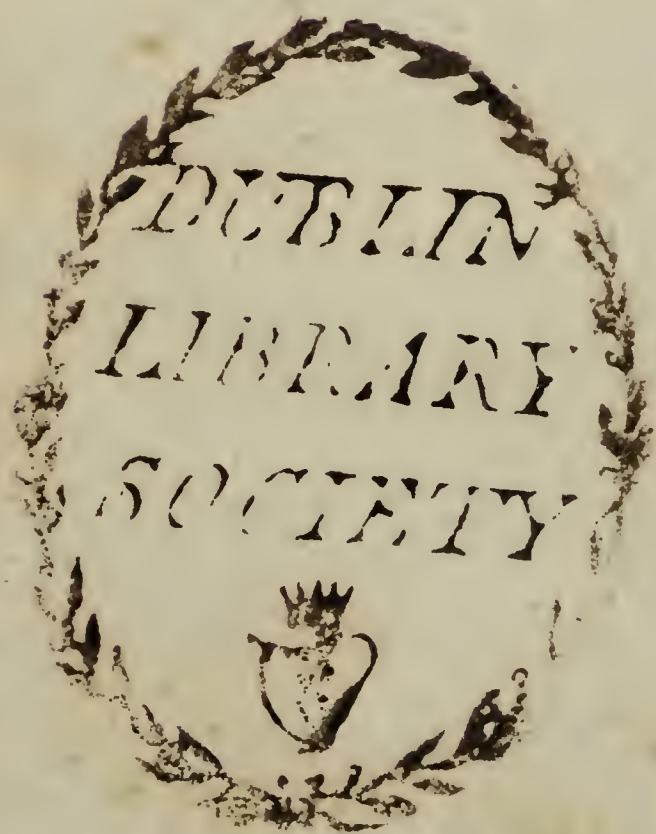
ILLUSTRATED WITH A NUMBER OF AUTHENTIC AND
INTERESTING ANECDOTES.

ADDRESSED TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
THE DUKE OF KENT AND STRATHERN,
&c. &c. &c.

BY JOHN EDWARDS, Esq.
OF OLD-COURT, IN THE COUNTY OF WICKLOW;
MORE THAN THIRTY YEARS A JUSTICE OF THE PEACE.

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TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

Field Marshal

PRINCE EDWARD,

DUKE OF KENT AND STRATHEARN, K. G. AND K. S. P.

&c. &c. &c.

SIR,

IT is not alone from motives of that dutiful attachment whereby I am bound for so many signal marks of your Royal Highness's most gracious attention and favour, that I have been induced to solicit the high honour of being permitted to dedicate the following pages to your Royal Highness.

The principles whereby I have been thus actuated, have been inspired by considerations of a far superior nature.

Your Royal Highness's illustrious rank, and exalted situation in the legislature of your country; the sincere and steady attachment of your Royal Highness to the interests of Ireland,—and above all, that dignified mind acknowledging no motive for public conduct but that of public good,—uninfluenced by party, and open to the conviction of truth and justice,—eminently point out your Royal Highness as the illustrious patron to whose gracious protection these pages may look up for support.

To some it may seem extraordinary that a Royal Field Marshal, a soldier by education and habits, should be selected for the patronage of an essay upon regulations of a civil nature.

But such are unacquainted with the whole of your Royal Highness's character. They have not witnessed in a foreign garrison* under your Royal Highness's command, the happy effects of the most cordial harmony subsisting between all ranks and

(* Halifax, Nova Scotia).

descriptions of the civil and military, the result of that respect inculcated as due to the civil power, under the principles of our glorious constitution, so deeply inherent in the breast of a descendant of the house of Brunswick, and which should justly endear your Royal Highness to the affections of every British subject.

Your Royal Highness is sensible that several years ago it was my decided opinion that nothing effectual could be done to ensure the tranquillity of Ireland, unless the hearts of the lower classes were warmed by conciliation and kindness into an attachment to our government and laws, so as to preserve them from that facility with which they usually have become the ready instruments of the agitators of the public peace.

It has been long my earnest desire to bring forward the opinions I had formed upon this subject, whenever there might appear a season favourable for their reception and consideration by the government

and the people in general. The close of the last sessions of parliament appeared as the first auspicious moment that occurred for my purpose, and the sentiments that seemed to actuate the House of Commons in the progress of the Irish penal acts, were encouraging to my opinions, especially as several members declared their sentiments as to the necessity and duty of the House entering into a general and deliberate view of the state and situation of Ireland, and one gentleman regularly gave notice of his intention early in the next sessions to move for a committee upon the affairs of Ireland.

Assuredly his Majesty's government do not appear to have been in possession of radical information, or just premises, from whence to form conclusive regulations adapted to the solid, the permanent advantage of Ireland. It must be allowed, however, that with becoming candour they have given way to the late free and patient discussions upon the subject of the Catholic claims, and which were supposed to involve

questions of serious consideration to the tranquillity of the church establishment.

In the following regulations proposed for the benefit of the lower classes, neither the interests of the church or state are committed in the slightest degree, and advantages from thence may more certainly and naturally be expected to arise to the empire.—Indeed the permanent settlement of the lower classes appears to be a necessary foundation for the subsequent superstructure of the admission of the claims of the higher Catholics.

It is possible that the following hints may never have been suggested to, or arisen in the minds of the members of his Majesty's government; and there cannot surely be apprehended a doubt of their ready inclination to forward these objects, should the means appear likely to answer the end proposed.

These hints are designed to supply some authentic information upon this important

subject. The resolution of compiling them was adopted upon the spur of the occasion, under the unfavourable circumstance of absence from home and the want of some useful papers and information.

I am to entreat your Royal Highness will grant me indulgence for the frequent personal recurrence of the author in the course of the following pages, as it was my earnest desire in an affair of so much responsibility, to adduce such examples in illustration of evidence as should fall within my own personal knowledge.

I have the honour to present to your Royal Highness and my country the following result of the experience and observation of my past life upon the subject in question ; and however it may be received by the supporters of contending parties, I beg of your Royal Highness and my country to do me the justice to believe that it has proceeded from the sincere and honest intentions of one wholly unconnected with any party whatsoever, and the earnest

object of whose heart is, as it ever has been, the true welfare of Ireland.

May your Royal Highness long enjoy health accompanied with the inestimable blessings of an approving conscience, the certain reward of a magnanimous mind, ever bounteous and ever active in true benevolence and Christian charity.

And whilst the hero's brightest fame, won by the desolating arm of victory, shines but on earth, nor passes the dark limits of the grave;—may the modest lustre of unassuming merit irradiate the soul of your Royal Highness beyond the regions of mortality!

I have the honour to subscribe myself,

Sir,

Your Royal Highness's most dutiful,

Obliged and attached

Humble Servant,

JOHN EDWARDS.

*Gravel-pits, Kensington,
September 29, 1814.*

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a general

discussion of the problem and the main results.

2. The second part is devoted to the proof of the

main theorem, which is divided into two parts.

3. The third part is devoted to the proof of the

corollaries and the application of the results.

4. The fourth part is devoted to the conclusion.

5. The fifth part is devoted to the references.

6. The sixth part is devoted to the appendix.

7. The seventh part is devoted to the index.

8. The eighth part is devoted to the bibliography.

9. The ninth part is devoted to the list of symbols.

10. The tenth part is devoted to the list of figures.

11. The eleventh part is devoted to the list of tables.

12. The twelfth part is devoted to the list of references.

13. The thirteenth part is devoted to the list of symbols.

14. The fourteenth part is devoted to the list of figures.

15. The fifteenth part is devoted to the list of tables.

16. The sixteenth part is devoted to the list of references.

17. The seventeenth part is devoted to the list of symbols.

18. The eighteenth part is devoted to the list of figures.

19. The nineteenth part is devoted to the list of tables.

20. The twentieth part is devoted to the list of references.

21. The twenty-first part is devoted to the list of symbols.

22. The twenty-second part is devoted to the list of figures.

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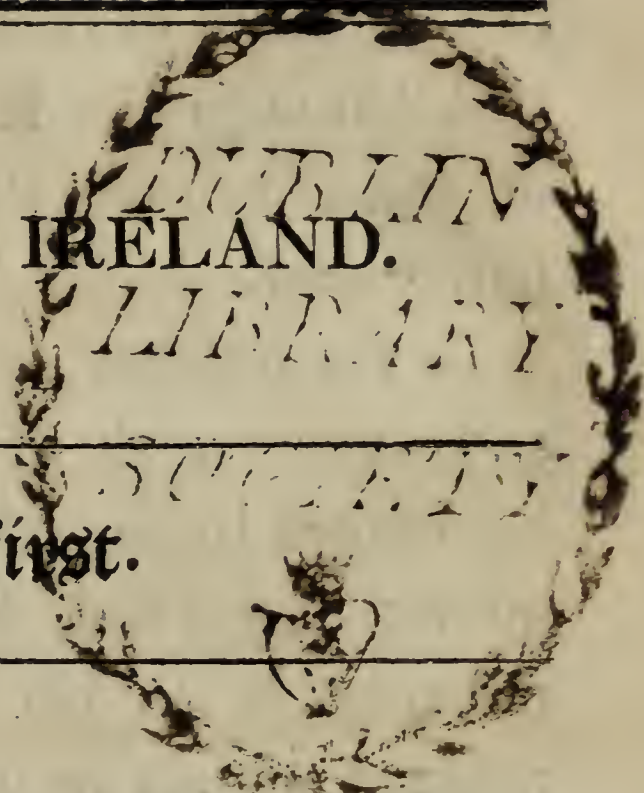
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—————“ But no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of truth, (a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always pure and serene) and to see the errors and wanderings, and mists, and tempests, in the vale below;” so always that this prospect be with pity, and not with swelling or pride. Certainly, it is heaven upon earth, to have a man’s mind move in Charity, rest in Providence, and turn upon the poles of Truth.

Essays of Bacon Lord Verulam.

INTERESTS OF IRELAND.



Part the First.

Introduction of the Subject—Suspension of Trial by Jury—Recent Distress in Dublin—Redress to begin with the Lower Classes, or Peasantry, in Ireland—An Examination into their Character—How they are likely to be affected by the Union—Their Prejudices against the English to be removed.

THE vital importance of Ireland to the British empire, her continually disturbed state, and the total failure of all remedies hitherto devised for her quiet, are truths so notorious as need no arguments to prove.

It must have gratified the friends of that country, and excited in their breasts some dawn of hope, some earnest of subsequent good, to have perceived the interest with which many of the British members of the House of Commons appear to have engaged in the subject of

the Bill "for the Suspension of Trial by Jury in certain Cases in Ireland," as brought in and carried through the House by the Irish secretary of state, toward the close of last session of parliament.

In the present undertaking, it is the honest and sincere wish of the author to endeavour to lay before the legislature in particular, and the public in general, the most true and unbiassed information in his power relative to the important subject in question, and which appears to be but ill-understood; probably from the exaggerations or misrepresentations of violent contending and prejudiced parties, from whose mutual endeavours to obscure the truth, it can scarcely be discovered by the most impartial inquirer.

The author is sensible of the difficulties of his undertaking, and the prejudices which he has on all sides to encounter; but he conceives himself actuated as it were by a sacred duty to lay before his fellow-countrymen in general, at this seemingly auspicious period, the truths which he has witnessed, and the opinions which he has formed in the course of a long experience in peculiar circumstances and situations in Ireland.

Whether the author be possessed of those

principles of impartiality, and that local knowledge and experience necessary to qualify him for the task he proposes, the reader must be left to form his own opinions in the course of these pages.

He proposes to lay down a series of plainly stated fair premises, whence just conclusions will easily and naturally follow; and as the end which he proposes is to promote peace and harmony, he certainly will not exaggerate, but rather endeavour to soften and conciliate, as far as may be consistent with truth.

It is a melancholy consideration that Ireland has almost always been in a state of disturbance, and for which all remedies hitherto devised have proved ineffectual. Thus we may fairly conclude, that all these supposed remedies have been wrong, and that her peace and quiet must be brought about by different measures from those hitherto pursued.

How devoutly is it to be wished that the power of government were to be displayed to the ignorant and misled Irish by some measures of a beneficent nature, in addition to those of punishment.—In addition, it is said, for on fair examination, the bill for suspension of trial by jury, it is feared, must be considered as a mea-

sure expedient, however much the necessity is to be lamented.

When a band of lawless ruffians, cemented by profligate oaths, league together in arms for overturning the laws of their country and other mischievous purposes, can it be said that they any longer deserve the protection of those laws which they spurn at and trample under foot? And do they not, on the contrary, deserve to be outlawed—or that any other laws found more suitable should be adopted for their restraint and punishment?

Again, in the present case: These banditti too successfully elude the discovery of the scenes of their nocturnal conspiracies and depredations, although their absence from home at such times cannot be concealed. Merely to be absent from home at night is no crime in the eye of the law. Here then is no ground for an indictment to go before a grand jury, and a notorious offender may escape to triumph in his villainies, unless the tables of the law be turned against him, and a satisfactory proof of exculpation from the crime imputed, be required from himself.

Unless he shall prove to the satisfaction of the magistrates, that his absence from home

was upon some other occasion, it is fair to presume that he was engaged in unlawful pursuits, and that he be punished accordingly.

But hoping that the numbers of the disturbers of the peace are comparatively small in respect to the whole population of Ireland, we will postpone their case, and resume the subject as regarding the more deserving part of the community.

What a distressing picture of the metropolis of Ireland; what a phenomenon of starvation in the midst of peace and plenty has been exhibited in a Dublin newspaper of the latter end of last July! in one part of which, the price of the half quartern loaf of bread is quoted so low as five-pence; and in a neighbouring paragraph is a report of "a meeting of the clothiers of that city to take into consideration the case of the industrious manufacturers deprived of work by the stagnation of trade;" at which, Mr. Belwood, a manufacturer of respectability, declared, as a fact notorious, "that some thousands had been for days strangers to food," &c. &c.

This is a sad consideration; and the more so, as it is a circumstance to which no permanent relief can with propriety be applied, as a non-importation agreement or a protecting duty to

the Irish clothier would be inadmissible measures of hostility to the sister nation.

The fact is, that the Dublin clothiers cannot meet in their own market the English cloths, especially those of Yorkshire.

Many circumstances contribute to secure a preference to the English manufacture. That judicious division of labour, whereby the Yorkshire cottager, uncramp't by apprenticeships and corporation restrictions, is enabled, by the assistance of the individuals of his own family, to bring the undressed cloth ready milled to the nearest cloth hall, and to sell at a price surprisingly low.

The merchant who finishes, has the advantages of superior machinery, and probably superior skill from the more extensive operations of his trade; and, lastly, by his force of capital, he induces the Dublin draper to give his goods a decided preference by the encouragement of a longer credit than can be afforded by the clothier his own neighbour.

This is truly discouraging to the clothier in the city of Dublin, where their trade must ever continue under disadvantages. Nor have the Irish clothiers a chance of maintaining a competition with those of England even in their

own markets, unless they adopt the same policy in the conduct of the manufacture.

Here the legislature cannot interpose to their relief. But the manufacturers of Ireland, such as they are, are not the disturbers of the peace. For such, we must look to another class of people—to the peasantry, the cultivators of the soil; a class of people, who, in England and elsewhere, are comparatively innocent and happy.

It will be well worth while presently to examine whence can arise this extraordinary difference of conduct between the same class of people in the adjoining sister islands, nominally under the same form of government; for it seems impossible but there must exist some radical defect in the treatment of the lower classes and the peasantry of Ireland.

And this consideration should lead us to discover, that to begin with redressing the causes of discontent in the lower classes, and to conciliate their attachment, is our true policy, our real interest.

From the criminal neglect of cultivating the interest and affections of the lower classes of the people, who are the true wealth and glory of nations, we have lately seen mighty kingdoms crumble to ruin. And, on the contrary, we have now seen the Russian empire miracu-

lously preserved from the united force of the whole powers of the continent, leagued together for its destruction, under the energetic abilities of that mighty ruffian Napoleon; and owing its salvation to the devoted attachment of a population bound by the most affectionate ties of gratitude to their monarch, the magnanimous Alexander; whose thoughts and actions are inspired by the genuine dictates of benevolence and true Christian charity.

The laws and regulations of a wise legislature should not only avoid every tendency to create discontent and irritation, but should carry conviction that their nearest object is the happiness of all ranks of the community, and especially those of the poor and labouring classes.

We are to reflect, that after the legislature has faithfully performed its duty in enacting the best laws, still much remains to be done.

The executive power has the highly responsible duty of bringing these laws into practice, and of delegating authority to numerous individuals in every local ramification to dispense their benefits to the people with justice and impartiality. In vain shall the wisest laws be enacted, and in vain shall the most excellent and best informed characters be selected to the

administration of the executive government, should the inferior ministers of their delegated power be actuated by negligence, ignorance, self-interest, or party prejudice.

And still, it is very possible that the most faithful exertions of the most scrupulously appointed delegates of power may either entirely fail, or prove materially deficient in their effect, unless the understandings and dispositions of the multitude be civilized and enlightened to a capability of duly appreciating the value of such a constitution, so equitably dispensed; and which should be effected through means of the pious labours of their several religious pastors, and the benevolent exertions of individuals co-operating in the truly christian work of early education to helpless youth and innocence, and general instruction to all.

In vain shall the choicest seed have been selected, and in vain shall it have been most judiciously deposited in the soil, unless this soil shall have been duly and timely prepared for its reception.

The foregoing considerations naturally lead to the following enquiries with respect to Ireland.

Have the best possible laws been enacted for the advantage of the nation, and what addition

or improvement can be made thereto with a prospect of benefit?

Have the most upright and deserving characters been selected and encouraged to the impartial administration of these laws?

Have the sacred pastors and other benevolent members of the community used sufficient and judicious exertions to improve and enlighten both the present race and the rising generation?

And the answers to these enquiries will lead to the cause of the defects in the internal civil economy, and the consequent discontents and turbulence of the Irish nation.

But it has been publicly asserted, “that they are a people prone to spurn at those laws and that constitution which the English revere, and that they are incapable of enjoying liberty and the blessings of the British constitution.”

They who hazard such random assertions, are yet to be made acquainted with the true nature of the Irish character; and also to be assured, that the trial has not yet been made in what manner the lower people would receive the rights and advantages of the British constitution.

These are subjects that call for the closest investigation.—And first as to the Irish character.

It is melancholy to observe the habitual and

fatal prepossession of the Protestants, of the lower class, generally speaking, against the Catholics in Ireland, and which has considerably increased since the rebellion of 1798. This produces a certain overbearing style of address, manner, and conduct towards the lower Catholics; to which, whilst they may appear patiently submissive, a stifled resentment burns within, which, after long restraint, not unfrequently breaks out in acts of retaliation, and brands them with the accusation of deceit and treachery.

But remove this creature of deceitful submission from his native country, the scene of his depression; place him in the navy or army upon the footing of a British subject;—See his character expand on being looked on with confidence as the defender of his country. He feels his consequence—he asserts his dignity, and becomes a hero!

But that it is not absolutely necessary to remove the Irishman from his native soil, in order to inspire his bosom with sentiments of honour, justice, and submission to the laws, the author is fully persuaded. In his intercourse with this class of people, as a magistrate and a neighbour, it has been his study to inspire and deserve their confidence, by never forfeiting it; and to conciliate their esteem for the laws of their coun-

try, by letting them feel the just value of their support and protection; at the same time, that they were fully impressed with experimental conviction, that resistance to the laws was vain, and violence ineffectual; and that no person should escape their sovereign control.

In order to prove, that by such measures Irishmen even in their own country may not be unfit to receive the blessings of liberty and the British constitution, and may be prevailed on not to spurn at the laws, the author desires to produce a few of the numberless instances which have fallen particularly within his own personal knowledge, and which concern collective bodies rather than individuals of the class in question.

First instance.

Before the author had entered upon the duties of justice of the peace, it had been to the reproach of his neighbourhood, that the property of the unfortunate vessels shipwrecked on that coast had been plundered by a riotous mob, against whose violence the exertions of the peace-officers were said to have proved ineffectual.

The author, when he became a magistrate, apprehending that proper exertions might not have been used, declared publicly his fixed intention to make trial of what could be effected

by his own influence single and unassisted, on the first melancholy occasion of shipwreck that should occur.

Shortly after, an unfortunate vessel, laden with cheese and fire tiles, and bound for London, from Chester or Liverpool, was driven in and wrecked upon the coast in a storm, and in a couple of tides went to pieces; though not before about half the crew were saved by the exertions of the people on shore, by means of a rope communicating with the vessel, as no boat could stand the fury of the waves, and one which made the attempt was instantly upset at the wash of the wave.

As usual, in such cases, the concourse of people was great, impelled by curiosity and the hopes of profiting more or less by the miseries of their fellow-creatures.

The author, in pursuance of his declared intention, attended on the shore unassisted by any force civil or military. He addressed the people by every persuasive argument in his power, and entreated them to wipe off the foul stain with which their character had been branded on former occasions of that sort.

At the same time he assured them that it was his positive determination to prosecute with every rigour of the law, not only those who

might themselves be the plunderers, but also the receivers and purchasers of such plunder.

In reply to this, he was advised by individuals of the mob to go quietly home, and to rest satisfied that so many lives had been preserved, but that as to the property, it was much fitter it should be divided amongst the poor country people who would risk their lives to recover it from the sea, than that it should become the prey of the revenue officers, which certainly it would if withheld from them.

In the end, part of the cargo and the materials of the vessel were preserved by the regulated exertions of the people, who were amply paid for their honest labours: and without any embezzlement were delivered up, according to law, into the charge of the revenue coast officers; under whose management, after a public sale by auction, there scarce remained sufficient amount to defray the expenses of salvage, so truly had the poor people predicted.

Can it be justly said that such people spurn at the laws, and are unfit to receive the blessings of liberty and the British constitution?

It is to be added, that upon complaint to the commissioners of the revenue, an investigation was held upon the conduct of the revenue officers concerned, who were in consequence sus-

pended from their employments ; until, after the lapse of about a year, when out of consideration to their impoverished families, the author was induced to intercede for their restoration.

Second instance.

Before the rebellion broke out in 1798, besides those who had voluntarily entered into the conspiracy, great numbers, as well Protestants as Catholics, had been induced by fear or otherwise to take the oaths, who at the time had no idea of what it was intended should follow.

In the month of May, a few days before the general insurrection took place, a proclamation arrived in the author's neighbourhood to encourage the surrender of arms, assuring those who would comply, "that they should not suffer in person or property the smallest injury."

On the next day the author received a private message, that if he would consent to meet them in the mountain at night, unattended by a guard, great numbers were ready to come in to him, for the purpose of surrendering their arms and taking the required oaths. But that they were afraid of appearing in the day time.

A compliance with this request could not but appear somewhat hazardous, and especially as a little time before, the author, in presence of other magistrates, had been told in the course of

examination of an informer,* that his life had been threatened, from the apprehensions of his exertions in a military capacity.

In this suspense he consulted the Catholic clergyman of the parish, the reverend Charles O'Callaghan, a gentleman whose liberal, loyal, and assiduous conduct through the whole of this trying business the author has sincere pleasure in thus publicly acknowledging.

And relying on his assurances, that no deceit was or could be intended, on the next evening, with no other attendant than the second lieutenant of his yeoman company, he entered the mountains, and was conducted to an obscure cottage, at which he arrived before midnight. Here he was immediately surrounded by an earnest and anxious groupe, who appeared to be the spokesmen for the others who were obliged to remain without, as withinside there could be room but for a few at a time.

From the first complection of the business, there seemed reason to apprehend doubts of its success; there being a strong apparent unwillingness as to parting with their arms. And not without difficulty was the true reason at length extorted from them; such was their fear

* How falsely will presently appear.

of giving personal offence in the communication of their sentiments.

“ Ah, Sir, if we part with our arms, we shall have nothing left to defend ourselves, and we may be all murdered in cold blood.” And at length they acknowledged that emissaries had, at times, been amongst them to say, that the protestants and the orange-men were to rise in the night and murder them all; and that they had been instructed to provide themselves with pikes, by way of defence against this general massacre.

And then, for the first time, the author discovered the reason why, on some particular nights just before, numbers of the country people round him had forsaken their houses and secreted themselves in holes and corners in the fields.

Thus were these wretched ignorant people, for the most part, by degrees deluded into rebellion. And at the last step they were terrified by threats, or forcibly dragged from their houses into the rebel ranks.*

* The author had in his possession a curious specimen of a compulsory mandate, picked up in one of his own fields, from a rebel leader, a protestant, who had been a peace officer, to this effect.—“ He complains sadly of the failure in the attendance of a certain district, whose inhabitants had generally taken the oaths of the united men; and cautions them not to draw down on their heads the vengeance of a

In the end, after confidential communications on both sides, and the most solemn assurances on the part of the author, that the reports of the intended massacre were wholly a villainous and false fabrication to draw them into rebellion, they consented to give up their arms, and surrendered their pike-heads, which they drew forth from their bosoms, with visible fearful reluctance from all, and not without tears from some on parting with those arms, which they had been taught to consider as their only protection and surest friend.

Their gratitude to the author for his compliance with their request was boundless, as was their seeming penitence and submission for having transgressed the laws ; and they took the oath of allegiance with every apparent sincerity of heart.

As the author was restrained in this work of mercy, by a superior power, to three o'clock in the morning, he could not then receive the allegiance of more than fifty-one persons ; but he was assured, that if he could indulge them with a visit on the next night, all the people would come in to him there for several miles round.

visit from him. He tells them that for want of their presence he is hard-pushed ; but that if he had his boys, he would *not* *fear the devil with God's help, &c. &c.*

Signed,

“ GENERAL HOLT.”

Can it be justly said, that such people spurn at the laws, and are unfit to receive the blessings of liberty and the British constitution?

The author is grieved to be obliged to add, that by a superior power then commanding the district (not a general officer, nor of the line) he was restrained from extending this work of mercy to the following night. He is also constrained to add, in justice to the poor people, who might have been dubious of afterwards placing confidence in the assurance of proclamations that could not be observed, that upon his return home, he was upon the road called to the relief of two men, who were then hanging up by the neck in the act of being strangled, and whose house was at the same time set on fire by a party of militia; although they had just before delivered up their arms, and received the author's certificate of this, and of their having taken the oath of allegiance; and which they had pleaded and proffered in vain to the officer of the party.

Third instance.

In 1799, the author was engaged in raising a fencible regiment for the service of North America, at a period when the recruiting resources were almost exhausted. He adopted a me-

thod new in that country, by professing to rest upon the national honour of his recruits ; and thus, with entire confidence, to leave them unconfin'd as to their liberty, except that they were to attend parade daily in a public street in Dublin.

When the time drew near for their embarkation, they were truly and openly informed of the day and hour for sailing ; a confidence that appeared to the officers as little short of madness.

On the appointed day, at a public breakfast which was given, not more than a third of the number of the party attended ; and at the subsequent parade more than fifty men were missing.

The author then grew seriously alarmed for his risk, as some hundreds of his own money were depending upon the event.

He addressed the parade amongst a great concourse of spectators. He spoke of the confidence that had subsisted between him and his recruits, of which he did not repent, as he had the utmost reliance upon their honour, that they would not betray the faith that he had reposed in them. That he was certain the absent men had only delayed in taking leave of their friends, and that they would all follow the party on board in the course of the evening, as the

vessel was at the quay and should not sail until the next day.

He then marched them off; and next morning on the muster of the party on board the ship, not only the whole of the original number was there, but absolutely two or three more in addition.

Can it be justly said that such people spurn at the laws, and are unfit to receive the blessings of liberty and the British constitution?

We have thus seen that it is not absolutely impossible to humanise the Irish character, or to render it susceptible of the moral principles of truth and justice, even in its natural and untutored state, *and upon its own soil*; what might not then be expected from the additional advantages of the habits acquired from early education, industry, and encouragement?

The lower Irish are accused with a universal and natural propensity to pilfering. But we shall find that so far from being instructed at home to the contrary, or placed above the necessity of such habits, a part of their daily domestic economy becomes absolutely dependant either upon such miserable resources, or the voluntary assistance of their wealthier neighbours.

How is the necessary article of firing to be provided, unless the family live either upon or

close to a turf bog?—How is the pig to be supported but on the road side with occasional depredations upon the neighbouring fields and crops under the contrivance of the wretched children, who are thus early initiated into the arts of deceit and dishonesty.

What alluring objects of temptation to the fond mother of her impoverished infants are the milch cows, whose swelling udders attract her eager, longing eyes in every pasture around?

Alas! how numerous, how urgent the temptations to dishonesty to those pinched by the pressure of distress in all the necessities of existence? And in fact, this petty pilfering is

* How naturally do the following lines, of the feeling Burns, addressed to the mouse, apply, on surprising a poor child tattered, and barefooted, in the very act of “*gathering a brasna*,” that is, stealing some dry sprigs, earnest of the hope of a few boiled potatoes to appease the cravings of hunger?

It flies in breathless dismay, fearful of correction for having obtained that, which if not obtained ensures both correction and famine on its return home. A more appropriate epithet, however, than that of *sleekit* must be substituted upon the occasion.—

“Wee *tatter’d* cawrin tim’rous beastie,
Oh! what a panic’s in thy breastie,
Thou need na start awa sae hasty,
Wi bickering brattle,
I wad be laith to rin an chase thee,
Wi murd’ring pattle.”

“I doubt na whyles but thou may thiefe,
What then?—poor beastie! thou maun live.”

rather encouraged by a criminal indulgence, arising from the tenderness of individuals to the necessities of their fellow-creatures. For, thanks to Heaven! the implacable rage of party is not general in Ireland; nor has it banished from all hearts those amiable national qualities, the divine attributes of mercy and compassion.

May we not justly impute these habits of dishonesty to our own blame, for thus neglecting the interests, the real necessities of our poor, labouring, fellow-creatures, to whom we are ultimately indebted for all the comforts we enjoy?

As to their children, it is lamentable to reflect, that instead of their parents being able to afford to pay a trifling sum for their instruction, they cannot dispense with the loss of their time from the necessary employment of pilfering, even to permit their attendance upon the gratuitous offers of the advantages of education.

Assuredly the poor family which, amidst such trials of temptations, can abide with patient resignation, and preserve their principles of honesty unshaken, may look with confidence to brighter prospects in a world to come—whether their faith be Protestant or Catholic.

The Irish are accused of laziness. But can this be applied to them with truth, when any inducement to personal exertions are placed

within their reach? or may they not, rather in their turn, be expected to take every advantage of employers who combine to depress the wages of their daily labour?

A shrewd Scotch steward, in the employ of a great man in Ireland, lamented to the author the mistaken notion, prevalent there, of labouring work being got cheaply done for low daily wages; being himself, by experience, fully persuaded of the contrary; and certainly convinced that, by this practice, the employer was cheated—the labourer impoverished—and idleness and dishonesty encouraged.

He employed by task work as much as possible, and found his account therein, as well as the advantage of the workman in every point of view.

They are also accused of drunkenness—and this is offered sometimes as a pretence of apology for keeping down the rate of their wages; that any addition thereto would only be wasted in drink, to their own accumulated injury.

It cannot be allowed that the Irish are addicted more by nature to this vice than other nations; but from a concurrence of circumstances, they certainly do appear to have deserved the imputation not without reason.

Abstemious in eating by habit from neces-

sity, and strangers to any gratification thence arising, their whole indulgence on joyous occasions, is exclusively confined to strong liquor; and which, until lately, has been placed with a ruinous facility within their reach; and the brewery of malt liquors has not been yet sufficiently encouraged to deserve a preference.

The wants of the Irish peasant, from habits of inveterate poverty, are too few. He knows not wherein consists the comforts of life. He has no anxiety to save money to procure what he does not understand—what he has no ambition to possess.

He that has no possessions has no care, no carefulness for the things of this life. He becomes careless, and consequently has the less disinclination to sacrifice what trifle of money he may chance to possess when temptation allures to the bewitching delirium of intoxication.

There is also no doubt, let it proceed from what motive it may, a certain gaiety of heart, a chearful conviviality in the character of the lower Irish, which irresistably draws out the last farthing, to share *the drop of comfort* with a friend, or to relieve the distress of a suffering* fellow creature.

* See note at the end.

We must, however, entertain the hope, that when the Irish peasant is taught to experience the comforts of life, it will prove a spur to his industry to increase his earnings, and to be more frugal of their produce ; and that a desire for bettering the condition of himself and his family, when placed fairly within his power, will gradually supercede his taste for convivial pleasures.

But the lower Irish are said to be more addicted to turbulence and riot than any other nation.

This troublesome tendency produces very different effects according to the origin from whence it springs ; and which may be considered twofold.

The first is the effervescence of youthful animal spirits, uncontrouled by the discipline of schools, and unbroken by diligent and laborious attention to any fixed object of industry, under the strict restraining power of steady masters or employers ; and which will be likely to break forth at all times, and in every future stage of life from the force of early habit.

To this species of turbulence and riot, it must be confessed that the Irish are much indeed addicted. But it is comparatively inno-

cent: it neither originates nor ends in malice or revenge. It commences in sport, and although productive at times of a few broken heads and bloody noses, yet it shortly terminates in perfect good humour and friendship.*

The second species of turbulence and riot is wholly different from the former; and proceeds

* The author duly appreciates the industry, economy, and honesty, of the lower English; and even their rough spirit of independence becomes almost respectable, from the consideration of their attachment to the laws and constitution of their country. But he hopes to be forgiven for believing, that an Irish mob would have shewn a more grateful return for the condescending attention of the Prince, at the late jubilee in August, who exclusively for the amusement of the populace (for all horses and carriages were literally excluded) threw open the royal parks in the most splendid style for their uninterrupted gratification during so many days; and that the Irish mob, instead of venting their indignation upon the rails and sentry boxes, because his Royal Highness declined making an ostentatious close of the jubilee, upon his own birth day; would rather have been led, in a fit of enthusiasm, to have clubbed together, to *raise a blaze of fire-works, somehow or other*, in honour of their Prince.

To the inferior executive authorities in Ireland, is most earnestly recommended the praiseworthy example of temper and moderation exercised by the civil and military power called in to restrain the riotous proceedings in the Green Park; who, although grossly and repeatedly assaulted by the mob, yet at length happily effected their purpose without any fatality occurring, and without having excited any other sensations on the cool, returning, reflection of the mob, than those of shame for their own misconduct, and surprise and gratitude for the lenity they had experienced.

from mature and gloomy reflection, brooding upon injuries real or imaginary, exaggerated on communication, and which, bursting out in flames of revenge against enemies, real or supposed, becomes at length of serious alarm to the peace of the country.

Of such nature are the lawless combinations which at present disgrace Ireland, and have required the extraordinary laws of the last sessions of parliament; and which, whether the offenders may have original cause for their discontents, or not, must be enforced with rigour by the executive powers.

Rioters and disturbers of the public peace, it behoves every loyal subject, for the sake of the community, to assist in bringing to punishment.

Measures of redress cannot be conceded to ruffians.—Sworn systematic disturbers of their country, who have abjured the protection of its laws, punishment alone awaits their crimes; whilst investigation and redress of grievances, should such exist, is due alone to the quiet and the peaceable, who can communicate their alleged wrongs to the higher powers, with becoming calmness and respect.

That such turbulence and riot exist in Ireland at present is a melancholy truth, but not in a degree greater than what other countries

would be liable to, under the same circumstances. Let any person, on reading in the next part the enumeration of the causes of Irish discontent, consider how would the lower classes in England be likely to conduct themselves in the same situation, and thence form an opinion of the lower Irish.

It will now be necessary to examine how far the lower classes in Ireland are likely to be affected by the measure of the Union; as it is to be feared that much pains has been taken to inspire them with a strong prejudice,* not only against that measure, but the English nation in general, as having effected it merely for their own aggrandizement, and to the impoverishment and depression of Ireland.

It is evidently impossible that the political

* The prejudices of the lower Irish against the Union may be conceived from the following ridiculous anecdote:—

The Author frequented a livery stable in Dublin, where a little droll fellow, with most arch intelligent eyes, officiated as hostler. One morning, as he received his horse, he asked him with a significant smile, “has your honour heard the news?”—“No, what news?”—“Only, please your honour, that the Marquiss of Ely died last night: and before this he surely knows, to his cost, whether he was right in voting for the Union or not.”

According to poor Billy's ideas, old Nick was ever at hand ready to sieze a Unionist on his entrance into the next world.

views and interests of Europe could permit Ireland to exist as an independent state. And whilst Britain exists, that existence requires that she shall enjoy the sovereignty of Ireland, either by dependence or union.

Ireland, possessing her own parliaments, was dependant on Britain; and to retain Ireland under her control it was necessary to render her parliaments subservient, by unworthy means.

The inconvenience of this wretched system of government was generally felt. The people of Ireland, disgusted with the acquiescence of their parliaments to British interests, clamoured loudly for a reform in their representation; and the difficulty of managing the Irish parliaments became more perplexing and troublesome to government.

Farther resources for maintaining majorities in parliament became necessary; and the asperities between the aristocracy, in the interest of government, and a great part of the people of Ireland, rose to such a degree of virulence, that, by a desperate conspiracy, the weak and misguided multitude were hurried into rebellion.

Numbers of the independant and reasonable loyalists were at length satisfied, that an union with Great Britain would be productive of real

honour and protection both to themselves and the nation.* And the majority of the houses of parliament acceded to the same opinion, when they became assured, that they were not likely to suffer in their private interests thereby.

The principal injuries apprehended to Ireland from the Union were,

A prodigious and ruinous increase of taxes, to pay a proportion of the debt and expenditure of Great Britain—

And an encreased number of absentees, from the members of both houses of parliament, together with some of their connections attracted to England.

We are now to examine to what degree the lower classes are hereby affected.

As to taxes, the multitude, who are confined to the simple necessaries of life, do not pay any, their shoe leather excepted, as their dwellings are not liable to taxes, unless they have more than one hearth, and six windows, or pay a yearly rent above ten pounds.

And, by the absentees, however the national revenues may suffer, it will be found that the lower classes are less affected than can be imagined in this respect.

* See at the end one of the squibs that appeared on that occasion.

The increase of absentees, as merely owing to the Union, is certainly but small ; and most of the members of the houses of parliament retain their country seats in Ireland, and many of them their houses in Dublin.

Thus the employment of the country peasant is injured in a very trifling degree, if at all ; for agricultural and public works do not appear to have suffered, but the contrary.

In the metropolis, indeed, more serious injury was apprehended from its ceasing to be the winter residence of the members of parliament, and the resort of those attendant thereon, either from business or fashion.

However, contrary to gloomy predictions, that Dublin must necessarily become a desert, with houses untenanted, and falling to decay ; the rents of houses and lodgings became dearer than ever, and new streets of elegant houses started up in every direction.

Of course the working people in Dublin do not seem to have suffered by an increase of absentees from this measure, as there appears to be no dearth whatever of opulent tenants, not only to succeed to the relinquished houses, but to incredible numbers of new ones.

These signs of improvement cannot however, in reason, be attributed to the effects of the

Union, but rather to the natural cause of the well directed and successful energies of the community, centering in the metropolis.

It appears, however, sufficiently clear, that the lower people of Ireland are either not at all, or very inconsiderably, injured by the measure of the Union.

We are now to examine whether any, or what benefits are likely to arise to them from this measure.

There can be no doubt but that Ireland, united in the empire of Britain, sharing her glory, fighting her battles throughout the world, and bearing a proportion of her expenditure, has a right to claim for her lower classes a participation of the rights and advantages of British subjects, in as full a degree as any inhabitant of Britain.

Where is the person who can publicly stand forth and assert to the contrary? who will oppose their just claims? The English have too much justice—too much generosity.—Nor should we suspect their own countrymen of a desire to prolong the depression and discontents of the poor Irish.

Were Ireland a solitary unconnected country, where a powerful systematic few, having got the mastery over the disorderly many, find

themselves under the necessity of abridging their liberty, and holding them in a state of depression, as in the discipline of a slave ship ; then indeed might there exist reasonable objection to granting any amelioration to the state of the lower ranks.

Thank Heaven ! that is not now, nor ever is likely to be the case ; and the Union with Great Britain has given a last and decided blow to the most distant idea of such a painful necessity existing, as that of withholding from the lower people of Ireland any of the rights and advantages of British subjects.

What then can remain but to enquire wherein they fall short of the benefits and the protection of the laws of England ; and also of the encouragement given in that country, by those who command the services of the labouring part of the community.

Thus they may expect as the fruits of the Union, what never could have been their fortunate lot, had the nonsensical project of a separation from Britain been possible to have taken place ; a project wherein the lives and interests of the poor people were cruelly sacrificed, to promote the precarious aggrandizement of some crazed and infatuated individuals.

And thus, in consequence of the Union, they

may expect the rights and advantages of British subjects to be more readily granted to them than under their own parliaments; for a British legislature will not, cannot, deny to place them on an equal footing with the other subjects of the empire. But an Irish parliament was more open to be influenced by individuals of the upper classes in that country, in withholding what at first might appear prejudicial to their interests, and thus they would be more likely to decline granting the advantages due to the lower classes.

Therefore, it appears that the lower classes in Ireland are not only not injured, but, on the contrary, likely to derive considerable benefits from the Union. For which reason it becomes them to look with confidence to that measure—to the British legislature—and to that nation in general,—as the true sources of their protection and happiness.

It is matter of regret, that the lower Irish, perhaps from a secret motive of jealousy, are too apt to put the construction of mean selfishness upon the industrious and economical habits of the English of their own rank of life; who, in their turn, treat them with contempt, as considering them dirty, careless, and wasteful.

Happily, however, there does not appear to exist, by any means, the same animosity between these, as between the Irish Catholics and their own Protestant countrymen, of the lowest class especially.

The lower Irish should have some pains taken to convince them of the falsity and absurdity of such prejudices, which they have thus illiberally formed against the English nation in general.

They should be informed of the number of charitable institutions, exclusively for the benefit of the Irish, existing in the city of London, under the patronage of the Prince Regent and the royal brothers; and of one newly established in the parish of St. Giles by the generosity of the benevolent citizens; which, since its institution (scarce a single year), has rescued from idleness, ignorance, and misery, 437 poor children, without interfering in any manner with their religious opinions.

They should be informed of a great and extensive association, just formed, by persons of various religious persuasions, through the whole kingdom, who, with equal liberality and generosity have formed a society (to use their own words), “ for the purpose of diffusing in Ireland the religion of the gospel of CHRIST, without the

exaltation of party, or establishment of sects ; but with intention to leave to all the choice of their own modes of worship."—— " In action it will interfere with the exertions of none ; and in spirit it will harmonize with the desires of all ; and, by exciting all to assist each other, it will endeavour to make Ireland a blessing to itself, and a blessing to the world."

They should be informed of the generous warmth with which many British members of the House of Commons advocated their cause, on the occasion of passing the Bills for the better preservation of the peace in Ireland, at the close of last session, and pressed for a serious investigation into the peculiar situation and case of that country. And particularly that upright and sincere patriot, Mr. Wilberforce, who declared, " That, as an Englishman, he owed reparation to Ireland for the wrongs of centuries—and that it was an essential duty of the House to turn their thoughts to that subject."



Part the Second.

Causes of distress to the Lower Classes in Ireland—Low wages—Cottier's estimate—Want of permanent relief to the poor—Subject to billeting of soldiers, and the abuse of the Act for conveying military baggage—Rise of rents, and difficulty of obtaining small farms—Judge Fletcher's Charge—County assessments by Grand Juries—Unequal distribution of justice—Its cause, from the rebellion of 1798—Lord Cornwallis—His measures to check acts of cruelty—Service of the Orange Associations—Pernicious tendency since the rebellion—Observations upon their conduct—Orange commemorations of old, compared with those of the present day.

IT is now proposed to examine into and enumerate the causes which appear to distress the lower classes in Ireland; creating discontent and aptitude to riotous combinations. Also, to specify the particular circumstances under which they do not enjoy the rights and advantages of the British constitution, as British subjects.

The discussion of which will be followed in the subsequent part to this, by hints as to the probable means of remedy, and the future amelioration of the Irish peasantry.

It is a melancholy fact, most painful to state, that for ages past an inveterate hostility has been kept on foot between the upper classes in Ireland, and the greater part of their fellow-subjects ; and that the irritated minds of the peasantry are in a perpetual course of alienation from their duty to government and their employers.

We will commence the subject with a view of the state of the wages and domestic economy of the Irish peasant, or cottier.

A statement to answer every circumstance and situation is impossible ; but the following average is supposed a fair estimate for a country peasant, upon the general scale of Ireland.

His wages a shilling a day the year round ; and the rent of his cabbin, and a potatoe garden of a quarter of an acre (Irish) £.2 12s. a year, or one shilling a week.

THE COTTIER'S ESTIMATE.

Dr.	£.	s.	d.
To year's rent of his cabbin and ground - - -	2	12	0
To the expense of manure, and of his own labour in planting and taking out the crop, with the assistance of his wife and family - - - - -	3	0	0
To the purchase of a young pig - - - - -	0	10	0
To lost time, by weather, holidays, sickness, &c. —say only 20 days - - - - -	1	0	0
	<hr/>		
	7	2	0
	<hr/>		

Contra Cr.			
By year's wages of 6s. per week - - - - -	15	12	0
By his wife's labour, 6 weeks, at 5s. per - - - - -	1	10	0
By sale of his pig - - - - -	2	0	0
By ditto of chickens and eggs - - - - -	1	0	0
	<hr/>		
	20	2	0
To Dr. thence to be deducted - - - - -	7	2	0
	<hr/>		
By balance to Cr. - - - - -	13	0	0
	<hr/>		

Which gives 5s. a week, throughout the year, to provide all necessaries, except lodging and potatoes, being about $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ a day for the seven days of the week, in a prosperous state of matters. Now, allow for a man, his wife, and two children, one penny each per meal for some addition to their dry potatoes, at two meals only per day, and there will then remain but one halfpenny for all the other necessaries—

cloaths—shoes—firing—repairs of cabbins—assessments—wife lying-in—priests' dues—and tithe, where customary, for potatoes—&c. &c. But should he be obliged to purchase, instead of having the potatoes of his own, the case becomes proportionably worse.

In the above estimate, at the rate of one pound for ground rent, and three pounds for planting, the whole cost of the potatoe garden is four pounds.

The produce may, probably, turn out twenty barrels of twenty stones each, being at the rate of four shillings per barrel, or two-pence half-penny a stone, besides seed for the next year, and some refuse for the pig and the hens.

These twenty barrels will give about fifteen pounds and an half daily, throughout the year, which to four human beings afford but two scanty meals in the day; and sorely pinching indeed is the distressing season between the old and the new potatoes.

It is to be observed that should the wife and any of the children be able and inclined to work, there are not manufactures and improved systems of husbandry, &c. as in England, every where at hand to invite their industry; and which with them is generally confined to a few weeks employment in the course of the year

for the women, in making hay, binding corn, and about the potatoes in planting and taking out.

But the treasure of the Irish cottier is his pig. It is his sinking fund, his resource for all the changes and chances of the current year. And happy indeed is the family, which having weathered the passing storms, can enjoy the cheering prospect of converting the pig, or part of the pig, into a store for the winter, or more pinching season of spring.

This seldom indeed is the case. The pig, after the distress of the first purchase is got over, is reared with difficulty, even by the shortening of their own and children's food. He is afterwards chiefly maintained by trespassing upon the road sides and the neighbouring fields, and the fattening him being generally out of the question, he is at last sold as a store pig, and the fruit of this troublesome source of gain seldom amounts to thirty shillings as clear profit.

But should the landlord, or the neighbours, or the peace officers, prove *cross*, and not admit of the depredations of the pig, the disaster becomes serious indeed, and is bewailed accordingly.

In fact it is a loss, which probably can be no

otherwise repaired but by recourse to dishonesty of some sort.

Such is the picture, by no means exaggerated, but the contrary, of the miserable Irish cottier and his family, whose interests are considered by those of their fellow-creatures whom Providence has entrusted with positive or comparative wealth, at lower estimation than the pampered horse, on whose daily maintenance is expended what is considered adequate support for two families, consisting of eight or nine individuals.

We are to hope that this proceeds from thoughtlessness alone, as it cannot be possible to presume that Heaven will hereafter allow the claims of a single beast, in preference to so many beings formed after the divine likeness!

There remains another circumstance to be added to the melancholy estimate of the cottier's domestic economy.

*There is no support nor relief, established by law in Ireland, for the necessities of age and infirmity, which are wholly dependent upon charity.

* The want of poor laws produce a strong claim upon the generosity and personal exertions of charitable individuals, and the number and excellence of the various institutions, in and about the metropolis in particular, are conspicuous and exemplary.

In consequence of which there is commonly some shrivelled emaciated being, a resident in the chimney corner—parent or relative of the poor cottier, sharing his pittance, and experiencing an affection and kindness, which must compensate for the want of more solid comforts.

In addition to the permanent distresses of the poor cottier already stated, there is one to be recorded of an occasional kind, tending to harass his feelings, insult his poverty, and increase his disaffection to government.

Should his cabbin chance to be situated within a mile or two of the usual halting places of soldiers on their route of march, he is continually liable, on his return home from labour, to find his only straw pallet and fireside in the

In all the county towns there are infirmaries, and in some parishes dispensaries, partly supported by grand jury assessments upon the land. But these fall very short of the desired purpose.

To relieve cases which require medical and surgical assistance is highly desirable ; but whence are helpless age—lingering infirmity—incapable debility—or the wretched family visited by the death, sickness, or other distressing absence of him, from whom support was derived, to obtain relief? There are indeed charitable collections on Sundays in the places of worship, but they are of trifling consideration to meet the pressure of the distressing claims for charitable assistance. For instance, a collection which, in an opulent country parish, may amount to 130*l.* in the course of the year will afford but one shilling a week to fifty poor individuals.

possession of soldiers regularly quartered upon him by billet.

Yes—such is the tenour of the Irish mutiny act; which in this respect deviates materially from that of England. For in that part wherein the English act forbids the quartering of soldiers in private houses under certain heavy penalties, the Irish one enacts to this effect: “That in such places where the public houses may prove insufficient for the reception of a detachment of soldiers on their march, then in such case *they are to be billeted as heretofore.*” That is, indiscriminately upon all private houses at the option of the billet master.

Few, indeed, are the towns where the public houses are capable of receiving a division of 300 or more soldiers at once. And in halting places in general the public houses are few, and of such description as not to be capable of accommodating half a dozen men each. Here then the direction of an upright and active magistrate is particularly necessary. The undefined expression in the act, “as heretofore,” opens a door for all manner of partiality and oppression. The people of fortune and the favourites of the billet master may escape, whilst the burthen is thrown upon the poorest of the people and the obnoxious party.

It cannot be supposed that it was the intention of the legislature to favour the rich and oppress the poor; and the practice of the author as a magistrate has always been guided by such conviction.

But under the most faithful discharge of the billet master's duty, it is impossible to avoid throwing open and exposing the privacy of defenceless families, in retired situations, to the insolence and occasional depredations of the soldiery, all of whom may not prove equally correct in their conduct.

The bad consequences to military discipline of this indiscriminate and irregular quartering of soldiers must be too obvious to require comment.

The mismanaged operation of that clause of the mutiny act, empowering the compulsion of carriages for the conveyance of military baggage, is another source of irritation to the minds of the lower class of people.

When a regiment is reported to be upon its march, although the regulated payment is fair and the regulations good, yet the owners of cars, in its vicinity, or the places where it is about to halt, fly with them for concealment in all directions, through dread of being *pressed* into the service, and ill treated in consequence of

the mismanagement and the abuse of the clauses of the act. And thus are no cars in readiness when required by the route of march.

The constable then usually sallies forth, with a number of soldiers, who scatter abroad, and seize all the cars travelling the roads, loaded or not, unless for certain good considerations they can obtain leave to pursue their journey.

This is a most disgraceful interruption to the peace of a neighbourhood, and throws all, for the time being, into riot and confusion.

Yet to the magistrates, who may endeavour to stem this torrent of abuse, the result is most painfully discouraging.

In proof of these assertions it will be necessary to bring as evidence some facts which have fallen under the author's personal knowledge.

A few years ago, the author, in conjunction with some highly respectable magistrates, determined to regulate this business in strict consonance to the act. From a regular roll of duty formed for the occasion, they enforced the attendance of the cars under the prescribed penalties, at the same time passing their solemn assurances of protection and redress in case of injuries.

Shortly after having convicted an officer of militia upon a complaint of forcing a carman forward several days journey, to the great in-

jury of his horse, they issued an order for levying the prescribed fine upon his pay, and addressed it "To the paymaster of the forces," as directed by the clause of the act. This was sent to the treasury pay-office in the castle of Dublin, and an answer was received from the ostensible person, to this effect; "That the order could not be complied with, as there was no such person as paymaster of the forces in Ireland."

Thus is justice eluded, and the provisions of the act rendered ineffectual.

About the same time, a detachment of militia having marched from the author's neighbourhood, left their baggage to follow, and the business of providing carriages was put into the regular train. But the author was under the necessity of an immediate personal interference, from the complaints of some strange carmen, attended by the constable, who all declared, "That the soldiers were in the illegal and riotous act of seizing all the cars they could find, and even those loaden on their way to Dublin market. And the constable complained that it was not in his power to prevent the soldiers from doing as they pleased. The author, attended by the constable, proceeded to this scene of riot and confusion, and was there

treated with the utmost insolence by a serjeant, who was pointed out to him as the promoter of the lawless proceedings; the officer who commanded the party being represented as a very young lad, who did not interfere.

The author is sorry to say, that instead of committing the serjeant to the county gaol, to be tried for his offences by the civil power, out of a compliment to the military, and also for the sake of a military lesson upon that particular occasion, to that power he referred the complaint, hoping that it would be brought before a garrison court-martial.

From major-general Leith every politeness and attention was experienced, but he was not the directing power.

There were no steps taken, no court-martial ordered—the serjeant was left upon the spot; and the author, wearied by applications from him and his family, and being unwilling to insist farther in what seemed to be considered as an ungracious kind of business, at length gave up the point.

The cottiers' statement is concluded with observing, that it is generally the interest of their employers to provide them with a cabbin, such as it is, and a small piece of ground, the rent of which is valued in proportion to the genero-

sity of the landlord, and the wages to be allowed.

Also, that the tithe of potatoes is customary in only some parts of Ireland; and that the cottier is liable to his share of all county assessments in proportion to the quantity of ground he possesses—also to some trifling parish assessments for repairs of churches, and matters thereto belonging.

All which, according to the late heavy rates, may amount to two shillings for a quarter of an acre.

To the small farmer the extravagant rise of rents, and the difficulty of procuring land, is a great depression, and a leading cause of combination and riot. But this is by no means to be implicated with the idea of a rebellious conspiracy against the state, as there are some who desire it to be considered.

The late charge to the grand jury of the county of Wexford, by that upright judge the honourable Mr. Justice Fletcher, has placed the whole of this business in the true point of view, and on the most unquestionable authority.

Such evidence may freely be quoted in proof of assertions here advanced.

“Superadded to these mischiefs are the per-

manent and occasional absentee landlords, residing in another country, not known to their tenantry, but by the agents, who extract the uttermost penny of the value of the lands. If a lease happens to fall in, they let the farm by public auction to the highest bidder. No gratitude for past services—no preference of the fair offer—no predilection for the ancient tenantry (be they ever so deserving), but if the highest price be not acceded to, the depopulation of an entire tract of country ensues.

“What is then the wretched peasant to do? chased from the spot where he had first drawn his breath; where he had first seen the light of Heaven—incapable of procuring any other means of existence.—Vexed with those exactions I have enumerated—and harassed by the payment of tithes—can we be surprised that a peasant of unenlightened mind, of uneducated habits, should rush upon the perpetration of crimes, followed by the punishment of the rope and the gibbet?

“Nothing (as the peasantry imagine) remains for them, thus harrassed and thus destitute, but with a strong hand to deter the stranger from intruding upon their farms; and to extort from the weakness and terrors of their landlords

(from whose gratitude or good feeling they have failed to win it) a kind of preference for their ancient tenantry.”*

It is to be apprehended that the excellent and productive examples of Scottish skill and industry in agriculture, at the same time that they have so highly tended to the improvement of Ireland, may have also produced the bad effect of creating in landlords a premature thirst for an unreasonable increase of rent, founded upon the ideal hope of gain, to arise in future to the tenant from the improved system which he is expected suddenly and successfully to pursue.

Unhappily there are found a description of tenants too easy to fall in with their wishes, but not exactly with the same views. They are rather induced by the rise of rents, to flatter

* From the charge of such ruinous proceedings, judge Fletcher acquits the marquis of Hertford and the earl of Fitzwilliam, of both whom he makes most honourable mention.

To the liberal conduct of the latter, and the inviolable attention with which the tenant's right is respected upon that extensive property, the author desires to bear testimony. It is no uncommon circumstance, when a lease expires on that estate, for a stranger wholly uninvited, except by the alluring prospect of a comfortable and permanent provision for himself and his family, to offer an advanced rent far exceeding the valuation at which it is renewed to the old tenant.

themselves with a still farther increase, and that in the end they may profit by their speculations.

Considerable improvement in agriculture has taken place in Ireland, and much in the drill culture of vegetable crops from Scottish instruction and example; and also the highly laudable exertions of the several patriotic farming societies, who have effected much to the diffusing and encouraging such useful knowledge in all its various branches.

It is but reasonable, however, to allow a sufficient length of time for the establishment of the improved system, before an extraordinary rise of rent can be expected to be afforded in consequence.

The oppressive tax of county assessments by presentment of grand juries falls entirely upon the tenants and the occupiers of the land. What was always sufficiently heavy, has of late increased to an alarming degree, and much from the intolerable expense of the new mail-coach roads, with the accompanying expenses of bridges, walls, fences, and compensation for damage to private property. As it was not thought sufficient to repair, widen, and occasionally shorten the existing roads, and thus to make them equal to such as England rests satisfied with.

No—new lines must be struck out, and it is made by act of parliament imperative upon *sworn* grand juries, to adopt some one of several plans laid before them, by public surveyors, who are bound to be directed by the shortest course, and who neither consider obstacles, injury of individuals, nor expense.

The acknowledged utility of good roads and bridges of communication to a country, and the obvious source of advantage thence derived to the peasantry by employment, with the consideration of the whole amount of the taxes being expended in the district wherein it is raised; offer an almost irresistible temptation and argument for laying more burthens upon the landholders than they ought to bear.

It is a trust—a sacred responsibility reposed in the grand jury, to an unlimited extent, and to be restricted but by the circuit judge; who, however well inclined, cannot be sufficiently acquainted with the subject to exercise an effectual control.

Heavy indeed are the accusations against grand juries for the exercise of unfair practices in the management of this county taxation.

Judge Fletcher is decided in his opinion on this point. He says, “The moderate pittance which the high rents leave to the poor peasantry,

the large county assessments nearly take from them. Roads are frequently planned and made, not for the general advantage of the country, but to suit the views of a neighbouring landholder at the public expense. Such abuses shake the very foundation of the law.—They ought to be checked.”

And in another part he observes, “ That he has had it judicially in information, that sometimes the affidavits to account for the public money were actually not even sworn. And that magistrates have signed and given away printed forms *in blank* of such affidavits, to be filled up at the pleasure of the party.”

It certainly too often happens that roads and bridges in the vicinity of gentlemen’s seats are made and repaired with a degree of attention and expense, beyond those in a more public line, and that the repairs of the latter may frequently be entrusted to those who are likely to consider their own interest in preference to the public good. Or the making and repairs of roads may be given to a tenant to assist him to pay an arrear of rent.

This tenant does the work, and hands over to his landlord the account certified to be sworn to, for the expenditure of the public money, who receives it at the assizes next ensuing

from the county treasurer. The author must declare, that in the course of his attendance as a grand juror in his own county, he has never witnessed any unfair practices whatever, either in the way of job or speculation. He wishes that he could speak so favourably of the quantum of the sum of taxation.

Much has been said of the unequal distribution of justice in Ireland. It is a fertile subject ; and, if it could be sanctioned by prescription, of an origin sufficiently ancient. It naturally arises from the opposition and virulence of party, and which Ireland has in times past fatally experienced, even to the very summit of the executive power. But latterly such prejudices cannot be supposed to have pervaded the higher departments of the state.

Before the union, the very nature of British control over the Irish legislature was peculiarly encouraging to party violence. The hostility of the people in general was excessive against those of the legislature and their dependents who were supposed to be retained in British interest to the depression of that of Ireland.

But this opposition of court and country parties did not affect the equal administration of justice. The people were discontented, but

politic governments carried their measures generally with temper and civility, and which they communicated as much as possible to their dependants; until the certainty of a deep and secret conspiracy gave a different turn to the conduct of the executive power.

The rebellion completely subverted the administration of justice, substituting military tribunals of an inferior kind, generally composed of a few inexperienced militia and yeomen officers, acting on the instant under the influence of inflamed passions, and assuming to judge in cases for which even a previous acquaintance with military law could not have rendered them competent.

Here was an ample field for the upstarts in power, and the ill-disposed, to gratify all manner of bad dispositions, until it received a check from the independent and decided conduct of marquis Cornwallis. He appeared in Ireland as the angel of mercy. "He stood between the dead and the living, and the plague was stayed."

Possest of the supreme power, civil and military, he judged for himself, and issued his orders accordingly.

But measures so independent, not being altogether in conformity to the opinions and prac-

tices of the old* government friends, were not likely to attract their esteem ; and open abuse of his principles, and opposition† to his orders, became publicly avowed.

The noble Marquiss, however, indifferent as to the opinions which might be held upon his conduct, calmly and steadily persevered in his grand object of giving peace to the distracted country.

He earnestly sought, and soon acquired, the necessary information, by hearing the opinions of those who had acted with temper and moderation. He no longer suffered the instant infliction of martial law (the only law then in force), but ordered, that all such proceedings should be previously laid before him for his approval. And farther, to check the cruelties which had prevailed, he laid hold of an occurrence which he considered favourable to his views, as proving, by evidence incontestable, the existence of such shameful practices.

After the combined bodies of the rebels had

* The just and liberal-minded Lord Camden, the predecessor of Lord Cornwallis, was by no means supposed to have favoured the ill-conceived and violent measures which commenced in his administration.

† The noble Marquiss was commonly called a rebel by the party whose violence he endeavoured to restrain ; which he well knew, and mentioned to the author.

suffered extremely, and were broken, still there remained great numbers abroad, who dreaded the danger of returning to their own homes.

These were invited, by proclamation, to surrender to any of the general officers, and to return home with protections granted to them for future preservation.

The yeomen in the author's vicinity declared their resolution to shoot any who might dare to return in consequence of this proclamation; and the author pledged himself to bring to justice any man who should put such threats into execution.

An opportunity soon occurred. A man returned home with a protection from the late Sir John, then Major General Moore, and the next evening a party came after him to the house of his mother, and, in contempt of his protection, lodged several pistol-balls in his body, with intention to destroy him.

The man miraculously survived, and the author being sent for, took his informations, and enclosed them to the commanding General of the district, who laid them before Marquiss Cornwallis; and, in consequence, a court of enquiry, composed of yeomen officers, was ordered to be held upon the business at the royal exchange, in Dublin.

The author attended the court, and was informed, “ that it was resolved a court martial should be held upon the yeomen,” but that they had it also in orders from Lord Cornwallis, to examine him particularly with respect to the state of the country, in consequence of some expressions relative thereto contained in his letter which enclosed the informations.

The author had no reason to expect this ; but was obliged at once to enter upon his testimony, and undergo a long and painful cross-examination. And here commenced a long enquiry ; which, by adjournments, was prolonged from August 13th to November 24th following ; in the course of which a number of evidences were examined, and amongst others the late Sir John Moore, who, at the desire of the author, was ordered up by Lord Cornwallis from a distant part of Ireland for that purpose.

In the course of this tedious investigation, the author had frequent communications with the Marquiss, by his own express desire ; and was by him strongly encouraged to proceed, and to bear up against the difficulties of the trying situation in which he well knew he had been placed, from the consideration of the good effects which he expected thence would result to the country at large.

But when, at length, the investigation was closed, the opinion* of the court was never made known, nor were the yeomen brought to trial.

But Ireland, before the arrival of Marquiss Cornwallis, had deeply drank of the bitter cup, and of which some dregs, yet to this day

* Upon representation of the author to the Marquiss, of the injury which his character was thence likely to sustain, his Lordship replied, "That the character of the author stood on too high grounds to be possibly affected by this circumstance; that the end had been fully answered—and now, the less that should be said upon the subject the better."

And upon the author continuing to remonstrate, "that his character must inevitably suffer," the Marquiss was pleased to persist in his determination; but added, "that in consequence of his approbation of the conduct of the author, and his exertions, he would be glad to serve him, if it were pointed out to him in what manner."

The author being at that time under orders for North America, was unable to avail himself of the kind offers of the Marquiss; and thus was literally depending upon his character alone for support, against the malicious insinuations of his enemies; although, by publishing the proceedings of the court of enquiry, he always had it in his power at once to vindicate to the world his opinions and actions; and was alone prevented from this step, by his unwillingness to expose scenes, which, for the sake of humanity, ought for ever to be buried in oblivion.

An opportunity, however, like the present, could not be resisted, for the justification of his honest exertions in the cause of his king and his country; and he entreats and hopes that such consideration will plead his excuse for dwelling so far upon his own personal connection with the subject.

remaining, materially affect the administration of the laws. The Union, it is true, destroyed the opposition between a court and a country party, and it effectually relieved the English cabinet from the perplexity of controlling the Irish legislature ; but the rebellion, which, through the measure of its offspring, the Union, was instrumental in destroying one species of mischievous opposition, at the same time gave birth to another of a different nature.

Loyal associations formed to resist rebellious conspiracies, and which were accustomed during the troubles to exercise an uncontrolled and licentious conduct, knew not, upon the return of peace, how to relinquish the sweets of an unlimited power over their prostrate foes ; and who, unfortunately for the peace of the country, frequently happened to be their next door neighbours.

These associations, dignified with the illustrious title of Orange, embrace every description of the lowest class of Protestant yeomen, as well as those of higher rank, whose former antipathy to the Catholics has been aggravated to no small degree by the consequences of the insurrection.

These* men have been meritoriously useful to

* The author commanded a corps of Orange-men during the rebellion.

their country, but they vaunt themselves upon their services, to the exclusion of all other men,

He had at first raised, and trained with some attention, a mixed corps of Protestants and Catholics ; but when matters grew serious, and it was discovered that numbers who had taken the united oaths were intermingled in the yeomanry ranks, he became alarmed, and dismissed all whom he could discover to be such by means of an oath by way of test, in which some Protestants were included, to the extent of two-thirds of his corps ; although, with the exception of one or two, these men would, in all probability, have proved steady to the last.

The vacancy was instantly filled up with Protestants, who soon appeared to be of the description called Orange-men. But they were loyal, brave, and personally attached to their officer, who relied with the fullest confidence upon their support.

But it required his incessant care, and the utmost exertion of his authority, to restrain their inveterate hostility against Catholics.

The necessity of the times, during the heat of the insurrection, demanded the duty of every man on every night under arms in the guard-house or otherwise ; and their officer, profiting by such opportunities, laboured to instil into his men a liberal way of thinking, and to inspire them with an abhorrence of the cruel and mean practises which are inconsistent with the character of the truly brave soldier.

But to preach to them the cultivation of a *magnanimous and chivalrous spirit* was all in vain.

They could not, or would not, comprehend the meaning or use of it.—They considered their enemies merely in a numerical point of view. With them an enemy, or one likely to become so, was still an enemy, and ought at all events to be extirpated, if possible ; as the more of them that could be got rid of, the fewer would of course be left for them to encounter.

Contrary to their fondest hopes, and their earnest request made in proper form to the commanding General, they were

who having been at least as active as themselves under arms, may have proved more effectual in suppressing the rebellion, and restoring tranquillity, by moderate and conciliatory measures, as well before as after the necessity of resorting to arms. The objects of these men differ as widely as their conduct.

The violent partizan of the Orange associations intrudes upon the notice, and claims the favours of government, as his due, for certain forward acts of supererogation in loyalty. The pacification of the country is not his object ;—it is the ruin of his hopes and views. He is interested to prolong disturbances—to continue and to raise alarms, that he may not lose a certain degree of consequence which he has forced himself into with government.

The other looks to the restoration of peace with earnest anxiety, as the only source of happiness to himself and his unhappy country. He

never indulged by being brought into action. But their commanding officer has pleasure in testifying to the correctness of their conduct ; with the exception of one man, who fired at and was near killing a farmer, who declined to lend him his sick horse ; and of some others, who, when in the duty of escorting a party of men on their way to be compelled *to enter volunteers* into his Majesty's service, shot one of them dead, who was attempting to slip away, almost by the side of their commanding officer.

feels an interest to act with firmness and decision in the hour of trial—to strike a blow which shall at once decide the issue of the contest. He looks not to government for his reward, nor obtrudes himself upon its notice.

Thus is government misled, and induced to lavish approbation upon those who keep ever foremost in view with the ostentatious parade of “indefatigable services for the salvation of their country.” And thus, by the natural effect of re-action, are disturbances encouraged as the certain means of earning the future favours of government.

Should, perhaps, the head of the executive power at any time feel conviction of the propriety and expediency of Lord Cornwallis’s measures, and seem disposed to approve of conduct opposite to that of Orange-men, on such occasions there are not wanting those who conceive it their interest to poison the ear of power, and to prevent characters of that description from being rewarded by its approbation.*

* In proof of which the following instance is brought in evidence :—

In the feeble attempt to a second rebellion, during the administration of Earl Hardwicke, the amiable Lord Kilwarden, Lord Chief Justice of the King’s-bench, fell a lamented victim to the blind fury of a savage mob, in the very act of rushing forward to rebellion.

Hence are magistrates disgusted, and their exertions paralysed by a calumnious misrepre-

With his last breath, as he lay expiring near the fatal spot where his carriage chanced to encounter with these armed ruffians, he entreated that none should suffer but by the regular and due course of law. And Lord Hardwicke's temperate administration exhibited the calm and impressive spectacle of numbers of these deluded wretches condemned by the civil power, and solemnly executed on several successive market days, in the most frequented and riotous part of the city of Dublin.

Some short time after a man was taken up in the country, and brought before the author, charged with having in a public-house bragged, "What a dash the boys made in Dublin the day that Lord Kilwarden was killed?"—or words to that effect.

The author was, at that instant, going to a public meeting, near his own house, and he ordered the prisoner to be taken there, that he might be examined in the presence of other magistrates.

On examination, nothing appeared to justify the committal; and it was unanimously agreed upon, that he should be discharged upon bail.

The other magistrates retiring, left the author to conclude the business, who took the security of two sufficient men for the future appearance and good behaviour of the prisoner, and he was consequently discharged.

Not long after, the author received a private information from a friend who had accidentally heard, "that the Lord Lieutenant had been told, that he, the author, had let go at large, upon bail, the murderer of Lord Kilwarden."

The author having in his possession a private letter from Lord Cornwallis, alluding with honourable mention to the administration of Lord Hardwicke, and promising to prevent him from being prejudiced by any malicious insinuations against the author; he enclosed it to Lord Hardwicke, along with a plain statement of facts, and a request to be

sentation of their honest motives and effectual services ; and the coldness and neglect of government towards such characters, does not fail of being interpreted into a determined dislike of their conduct ; and, on the other hand, into an unqualified approbation of the measures of Orange-men. The consequence of which belief is the certain depression of the moderate and conciliating party, and the exaltation of the violent and oppressive ; and which directly leads to the unequal distribution of justice. Judge Fletcher observes upon this subject as follows :—

“ Of this I am certain, that so long as those associations are permitted to act in the lawless manner they do, there will be no tranquillity in this country, and particularly in the north of Ireland. There those disturbers of the public peace, who assume the name of Orange-yeomen, frequent the fairs and the markets with arms in their hands, under the pretence of self-defence, informed of the author of so vile a falsehood. He had also the man taken up, and sent a prisoner to the castle of Dublin.

He had the honour of receiving for answer, “ That Lord Hardwicke had received such information concerning him, but had not believed it.” The prisoner was also very shortly liberated ; but the informer was not given up.

How many malicious falsehoods may have in like manner been insinuated to government, against which the author could have no defence, as never coming to his knowledge ?

or of protecting the public peace, but with the lurking design of inviting the attacks from the ribbon-men ; confident that, armed as they are, they must overcome defenceless opponents, and put them down.

“ Murders have been repeatedly perpetrated upon such occasions ; and though legal prosecutions have ensued, yet such have been the baneful consequences of those factious associations, that, under their influence, petty juries have declined upon some occasions to do their duty. These facts have fallen under my own view. It was sufficient to say, such a man displayed such a colour, to produce an utter disbelief of his testimony ; or when another has stood with his hand at the bar, the display of his party badge has mitigated the murder into manslaughter.”

It can scarcely be denied, that the Orange associations, however laudable their original intention, were actuated by an inveterate hatred to Catholics ; which, when exasperated by the rebellion, transgressed all bounds of reason, policy, and law ; and not resting satisfied with the usual modes of inflicting justice upon the guilty offenders, had recourse to cruel and arbitrary means of extorting confession and discovery of guilt, real or supposed, in direct

violation of the spirit of the laws and constitution of Britain.

During the rebellion, such measures had the manifest tendency of driving out numbers to the rebel army, who might otherwise have remained quietly at home : and they created that implacable thirst for revenge, to which is much to be imputed the cause of the troubles which have existed from that time to the present day.

But they cannot be persuaded to admit, that such have been the consequences of their intemperate zeal ; nor that they have been the means of producing an unequal distribution of justice.

The following case is submitted to the decision of their own consciences : let it appeal to their feelings.—

Suppose an Orange-man under sentence of transportation for some crime against the Catholics, burning a chapel, for instance ; and that, through the influence of some powerful friend, his pardon has been obtained.

Suppose him a young lad, struggling with the effects of a jail fever, contracted in confinement. He hastens with his pardon to the cabin of his afflicted mother, a widow, who, with tears of joy, clasps in her arms her only son—her only support, whom she had mourned as lost.

She watches over him in the bed of sickness. He is at length risen, and seated by the side of this affectionate parent, in the act of taking some refreshment, when a party of furious papists rush in and shoot the wretched youth dead, almost in the arms of his distracted mother.

Suppose these papists apprehended, and brought to the summary trial of court-martial, by express order of the highest executive power.—Suppose the murder proved in the fullest manner; and then suppose the murderers acquitted!

Say, Orange-men, what would you have thought of this court? or the sentiments with which it was actuated? Would you not have stigmatized the intemperate zeal of these papists, who had perpetrated this murder?—or would you deny the fact of the unequal distribution of justice in the decision of that court?—

“And Nathan said unto David, ‘Thou art ‘the man!’”*

Before the close of this part, we will examine the grounds upon which it is complained, that the partial Orange associations of the present

* The above statement, *reversed*, is the recital of a well-known fact, which happened in the administration of Marquiss Cornwallis.

day are become more offensive than the former *general* demonstrations of loyalty from every individual Protestant, accompanied by the same public display of the orange ribband and lily.

Englishmen will scarcely believe the veneration with which the Irish Protestants were taught to regard the anniversary of the birthday of William the third, and those of the battles of the Boyne and Aghrim.

Here indeed were days of triumph commemorated; but they were the customary and spontaneous effusions of the whole Protestant community, for the recovery of their liberty from a race of men who long since had ceased to exist, and for whose conduct their descendants were not to be held accountable.

These commemorations were held with becoming consideration to the feelings of the Catholics, to whose individual persons no insults were or could be intended. As a striking proof of which, be it remembered, that in an era ever honourable to the Irish character, when the Protestant and Catholic mingled together in the ranks of the old glorious volunteers* of

* The author cannot pass by in silence the subject of the old volunteers of Ireland, as at this time there are many to whom it may stand in need of explanation.

In 1780, towards the close of the American war, the troops being almost wholly withdrawn from Ireland, the

1780—the Catholic paid the generous and graceful compliment to his Protestant brother soldier to appear with him under arms upon

country was left defenceless. When, with one impulse, the people of every party, rank, and religion, took up arms; and, without the smallest expense to government, started up an army of near 100,000 men, formed for the defence of their country against all enemies foreign or domestic.

The following anecdote is illustrative of the spirit with which that mighty national exertion was conducted :—

When that accomplished nobleman, that sincere patriot, that true friend and ornament of his country, the late earl of Charlemont, was invited to visit the city of Cork as reviewing-general of the troops in that district, he was conducted to a spacious and elegant private mansion in that city, where he and his suit were sumptuously lodged and entertained. There were servants in every department, and nothing was wanting to the plentiful accommodation of the noble guest and his friends. Yet no person appeared to claim the honour of host of the mansion, nor could his lordship discover or comprehend to whose munificence he was indebted for such unbounded hospitality.

On the morning of the last day of the military spectacle, as lord Charlemont was descending the staircase to proceed to the field of review, he was requested by an officer of that district, in attendance, to regard with some attention the sentry at the stairs foot.

His lordship stopped and addressed him, and then went forward, without being able at that time to learn any farther particulars. But upon his return from the field, his earnest importunities were at length gratified, by being informed that his generous and unassuming host was to be found in the person of the identical sentry at the stairs foot.

The author had this anecdote from lord Charlemont; but he is concerned that his memory does not enable him to record the name of this most generous and unassuming host.

those anniversary days, equally decorated with the illustrious orange. It is attempted by the advocates of the Orange associations of the present day, to confound their proceedings with those of former times,* which are demonstrated to have been perfectly harmless, and certainly unattended with any mischievous consequences; and under their venerable sanction, to derive a precedent for proceedings of a far different nature.

They are entirely dissimilar: the original unanimous celebration of those anniversaries are no more to be seen. The Protestants of moderate and peaceable principles have made a voluntary, though painful sacrifice, of ceasing to solemnize their favourite days of glorious and immortal memory, through their disapprobation of a party, who, to say no worse of them, cannot be denied to resist, with all their might, the return of Christian charity to their unhappy and devoted country.

The original unanimous celebration of those anniversaries are no more to be seen! They have given place to the ostentatious parade of select societies, insulting to the feelings of those very identical individuals over whom they

* See at the end, a song which appeared in 1798, upon the subject of Orange associations.

triumph, and against whom their thunder is denounced.

Oh, Orange-men! you are brave—you are loyal; and boast to profess, in its purity, a religion, whose essence is peace and good-will to human kind. Reflect on the consequences which should emanate from such divine principles, and do not merit the charge with which you brand your Catholic adversaries. Consider matters in a civil, in a political, in a selfish point of view. What are the objects you seek to obtain? What is the end which you propose to your labours? If you cannot extirpate more than three millions of your fellow-subjects, it surely becomes your bounden duty to your king, your country, and yourselves—to your own interests, to endeavour to reclaim and conciliate the hearts of those with whom you and your descendants are doomed to be inmates together of the same island.

Part the Third.

Wherein the Irish lower classes do not enjoy the rights and advantages of British subjects—Remedies proposed—Address to the Orange-men—Address to the Catholics—Hints to Landlords and to Tenants—Limit the power of Grand Juries—Regulate the Cottier's tithe—Bad consequences of depriving the Clergy of the tithe of agistment—Five subjects for the interference of the Legislature—Observations thereon—Address to Britons in general.

IN the foregoing part have been enumerated several causes of distress under which the peasantry of Ireland appear to labour; and it is evident, that in the cases which follow they are strangers to the rights and advantages of British subjects.—

1.

The rate of labourers wages is scarce half what is given in England.

2.

The support of the poor falls exclusively

upon the poor themselves, as the upper classes are exempt from any legal obligation to contribute thereto.

3.

Upon such wretched beings as these, soldiers are permitted to be billeted by law; and by the abuse and mismanagement of the law, they and their miserable horses are ill-treated and injured, when pressed into military service.

4.

A mutual asperity of religious and party prejudices terminates in oppression and the unequal distribution of justice to the Catholics, from the overbearing ascendancy of the Protestant Orange-men of the present day.

Such depression of the lower ranks of the people is unknown to Britain—abhorred by the constitution, and disdained by the justice and magnanimity of the British nation.

In addition to the foregoing, have also been enumerated the following causes of distress in Ireland.—

The difficulty of procuring land to small farmers :

The heavy rates of county assessments, and the tithe laws, which to Catholics are a painful system.

It remains now to be examined, in what

manner redress may be expected, and how sought for, in each of the foregoing cases.

And first, the rate of labourers wages. This is an article whose value usually finds its own level, but which, in Ireland, a variety of circumstances concur in preventing.

The want of employment in manufactures, and in an improved system of agriculture, and the great proportion of land employed in feeding cattle in most parts of Ireland, by creating a redundancy of labouring hands, have hitherto kept down the price of labour far below its proper level.

There is an old act of parliament, by which magistrates at quarter-sessions are required to regulate the wages of labourers. It would seem that this act had been understood as directed against the encroachments of the labourer alone, and that the required regulation of wages was only to regard their depression, but not their advance.

At all events, the magistrates, having no occasion to lower the wages of the poor people, and no inclination to raise them, have neglected to put the act in force.

It will be in vain to expect relief to the poor in this case, from the disinterested and generous feeling of their employers in raising their wages to a proper level. With the few indeed it may

be effected, but with the many, self-interest, and the necessity of circumstances will prevail.

At this present day, the average of the labourer's wages in England has been rated so high as fifteen shillings a week. But say that twelve shillings is an equitable rate.

It cannot then be considered as unreasonable, that the wages of the Irish labourer should be rated at the proportion of three-fourths of the latter, as the necessaries of life in the two countries can scarcely be valued at a greater proportional difference, and which difference may be fairly expected still to diminish.

Let the Irish labourer receive nine shillings a week, except in the cases where he is lodged and fed in the family* of his employer, where his wages may find their own level.

It may be rather a novel circumstance to enact a law for the purpose of raising the wages of workmen; but circumstances may so require, and such circumstances are now under our consideration.

An act, with a fair explanatory preamble, may direct the magistrates, at some one quarter-sessions in the year, to determine the rate of labourer's wages, according to the local and other

* In which case, the present wages are from three to four shillings a week.

existing circumstances, with this provision, “that the lowest rate to be named in any case shall be nine shillings a week ; and reserving a power to the employer to retain in his hands a certain small weekly proportion thereof, for the advantages of the sick and aged, and the instruction of the children of their own class.” As shall be presently noticed.

Secondly, the support of the poor.

So many are the inconveniences arising from the effect of the poor laws in England, and so enormous are the burthens thereby imposed, that however magnificent the idea that gave birth to the system, still it would be too dangerous an experiment for a country in the situation of Ireland to adopt.

It cannot, however, thence be inferred, either in justice or reason, that the poor are to be wholly overlooked by the laws of their country, so as to become either a burthen to those nearly as poor as themselves—to depend on casual charity, or else to starve.

No—let the upper classes also be obliged by law to bear their proportion of the support of the poor, for in their service have they been worn out, and exhausted by age and infirmity.

Here also must be entreated the assistance of

the legislature to authorize a tax ; but a very limited one, and which is in no one case to be exceeded.

Suppose one shilling in the pound upon a valuation of the rents of the lands and the houses in each parish, with the exemption of those under a certain amount. In a parish where the valuation amounts to eight thousand pounds, the tax would be four hundred pounds a year.

Here is a handsome provision for the poor in a parish whose yearly church collections had perhaps scarce exceeded one hundred pounds, and probably not half the sum.

This would afford two shillings a week to eighty helpless beings, and prove a prodigious relief to the friends upon whose pittance they are now depending for support.

Thirdly, the billeting of soldiers, and carriage of military baggage.

As to the billeting of soldiers upon the poor of Ireland, it is impossible that there can exist any other than the one idea upon the subject.

It should immediately be done away ;—nor is there any just reason that private houses in Ireland should be exposed to this most offensive burthen, any more than those in England.

They who are unacquainted with this mode

of billeting soldiers can scarcely conceive what a scene of confusion arises from thence.

The owners of private houses either may not have accommodation for soldiers, or may not be willing to admit guests of that description. In both of which cases it is usually expected that the soldiers who apply with their billet, shall go away with the usual remuneration of a shilling.

Hence frequently arises a dispute, according as the humour of the soldiers may incline either to insist on *making good their billet*, which they conceive they have a right to do by force of arms, or to endeavour to extort more money as a recompense for yielding up their legal right to intrude upon the privacy of the family.

In addition to this being a tax of a most offensive nature, it is most partial in its operation, as they alone can feel its effects whose dwellings happen to be situated near the route of march.

Nor is the service less aggrieved by the bad effects of this promiscuous and forcible billeting, which nothing but the last extremity should justify in a free country.

To provide comfortable accommodations for the soldiery upon their marches is a most desirable and necessary object, and must be attended with trouble and expense; but the cost of effecting

these regulations, when divided upon a whole nation; will be comparatively trifling. At all events it would cease to be partial, unjust, and offensive.

In order to enforce a due regularity in the conduct and conveyance of military baggage, it will be first necessary to correct a glaring error in that clause of the Irish mutiny act, which orders the warrants for levying fines upon offending military officers to be directed "to the paymaster of the forces;" for as it appears that there is no such officer in Ireland, the intention of the clause becomes nugatory, unless the warrants be ordered to be directed to some ostensible person, as for instance the agent of the regiment to which the officer may belong.

It would also be necessary that the heads of the civil and military authorities should issue strict orders to all concerned in their respective departments—to all officers civil and military, that they shall use their utmost exertion and diligence to have the purposes of the act effectually carried into execution.

Fourthly, the unequal distribution of justice.

For the three cases preceding, redress may be obtained by a moderate interference of the legislature; but in the present one, little can be required or expected from its power. The laws

are already sufficiently strong, were they faithfully and conscientiously put into execution.

Neither can we look to an extraordinary exertion of the high executive powers as likely to be attended with any certainty of success. Should all be blinded by party prejudice from the magistrate downwards, and conspire to obscure and pervert the course of justice; should offenders not be brought to justice, or being brought, be protected by party zeal, and acquitted by prejudiced juries, who affect to discredit the testimony of the evidences who appear to prosecute; and on the contrary place an undeserved confidence in that of the other side, viz. their own party;—how can the executive power counteract such fundamental abuse of justice?

But it is demanded from government to disarm the Orange-men.

Is there then no remedy to be discovered of restraining the intemperate partizans of these associations, but by inflicting a severe and indelible general disgrace upon a brave and loyal body of men, who in the crisis of distress and danger boldly stood forward the champions of their country?

It is unreasonable to expect that government shall lend the strong arm of power to put down

the Orange associations, or interpose with violent measures, very doubtful as to the effect, for the purpose of restoring tranquillity.

No—let us hope for a more propitious, a more promising order of things.

To endeavour to blend such an heterogeneous mixture as that of Orange-men and Catholics, merely by violence, by a forcible shaking together, will be labour in vain ; for assuredly on the discontinuance of the action of power, they will again disunite, with an increase of mutual aversion.

But through the intervention of gentler measures ; through the benign and powerful influence of a governing medium intermingling with each, and correcting their several acrimonies, is it not possible that they may be brought into union, and blended together, so as to form one congenial mass ?

Certain it is that in the present uncharitable and exasperated state of mind of each party against the other, nothing effectual can be produced or hoped for.

Whence then is hope to arise—where are we to turn our eyes to look for that benign and powerful governing medium ?

Search into the very subject of your reciprocal inveteracy. It will be found to contain,

however obscured and trampled down by the passions and prejudices of corrupt man, the inestimable and only true governing medium to regulate the malignant dispositions of the human race—Christian charity!

You both equally profess the Christian religion—would be equally indignant at a supposition hinted to the contrary; yet you both wilfully and perversely persist in the gross transgression of that divine principle so strongly inculcated for the peculiar advantage and happiness of the whole human race—Christian charity!

Perhaps you may be led to imagine that the breach of this principle is avoided; at the same time that a lurking spirit of revenge may be indulged, under the shallow pretence of disinterested public justice, and the necessity of inflicting punishment due to the guilt of offenders.

But have you previously tried every peaceable and conciliating means to reclaim your adversaries? and failing therein, have you made a solemn appeal to the laws of your country?—or have you not rather gratified your personal malignity, by becoming yourselves, in your own cause, the prejudiced ministers of private vengeance?

Here is the direct reverse of Christian charity.

Indeed such has been the ruinous tendency of the measures of both your parties to your country and yourselves, it is but too evident that so far from looking up to any principle divine or political as the rule of your conduct,—you have both hitherto been solely actuated by the blind impulse of ungovernable passion.

Thus far, both parties are equally implicated in the bad effects of their conduct; but as their principles of action materially differ, they must now be separately addressed with a solemn appeal to their understandings, their consciences, their feelings, and their interests.

Orange-men! you boast to profess the Christian religion in all the purity of its divine origin. You would seem to glory and exult in it, triumphing over and insulting the errors in the faith of your fellow-Christians.—Yet does your boasted profession of faith appear but vain glory and pretence. Your actions militate against its very spirit and essence, which is “good will and peace on earth;” and thus proclaim your Protestant profession of faith to be false and *insincere*.

Yet you affect to detest the Catholics for the errors in their professional faith.

Should these, or any other errors in a sincere profession of faith, prevent you from admitting

them to the fellowship of Christian charity? Dare you presume to pronounce, that the Romish form of worship offered up to the throne of mercy in pure sincerity of heart, is less acceptable than your own? Are you to proscribe the whole Roman Catholic body, because the heads of their early church have framed certain tenets which may lead to abuses? but which abuses to commit, is held as abomination in their eyes?

Your anti-catholic spirit would appear to suppose, that every individual of that persuasion is loaded with all the guilt which could possibly arise from every abuse of the fallible tenets of their church.

Can you possibly conceive that these tenets, consisting either of additions to, or deviations from gospel precept, originated from a bad design? On the contrary, they appear to be dictated by the humblest sense of human depravity and aptitude to sin; however subsequent degeneracy, and the abuse of well-intended religious ordinances, may have since authorized Protestants to reject them upon the soundest conviction, as being the work of man, and not of God.

Select the two most obnoxious tenets of their church: the one, that their own is the only true profession of faith leading to

salvation ; and the other, their belief in absolution. These are considered to lead to intolerance of principle—to give encouragement to commit sin, and to break faith with Protestants ; and for these reasons all the people of the Romish church are held unfit for the social relations of civil society.

But does it necessarily follow, that they all shall be guilty of the abuse of these principles ? Granting that they were all so viciously inclined, have they the power of putting such vicious inclinations into execution ?

This would require such a combination of villainy between the laity and the clergy, as imagination can scarcely conceive ; and from which the most consummate villain must revolt, as abhorrent to the principle or practice of any religion that ever yet existed.

Would you not conceive it an insult on common sense, were you to be gravely assured by a Catholic, that he could not consider you fit for the intercourse of civil society, because you could not be bound by an oath ; as you could get absolved from the crime of perjury, as well as from any other crime which you may commit ?

Yet to such objections are we Protestants liable.—The Protestant clergy of the established

church, in the order of priesthood, assume the authority of absolution in its fullest extent, on the occasion of visiting the sick.*

On this head, therefore, it becomes us to be silent ; unless, perhaps, we claim to ourselves a privilege, which we deny to Catholics—that of dissenting from such of the tenets of the church as we may not happen to approve.

No doubt the dark ages of superstition, and the gloomy countries of priestcraft and bigotry may furnish examples to raise ideal apprehensions ; but the present enlightened age, and, above all, the happy influence of the British constitution, should convince you of the folly of any real cause of inquietude on that head.

May you no longer then treasure up such silly pretences, for nourishing in your breasts that vile spirit of intolerance of which you so loudly complain in others. But may you generously lead the way, and assert the superiority of the Protestant principles of Christianity, by displaying that expansive spirit of benevolence, which should embrace not only our fellow-Christians, but our fellow-creatures throughout the world.

May you rest satisfied with believing your own religion to be the best, without detesting

* See the Form of Absolution in the church prayer-book, in the Service for the Sick.

others whose opinions may be different ; and may you finally be convinced of this important truth, that under the present conduct of your associations, you are most assuredly the means of disturbing, rather than of promoting, the peace of your country.

The lower Catholics only require to be thought capable and deserving of the blessings of civilization and social intercourse, and to be encouraged and assisted in their progress towards the improvement of their conduct, so as to enable them to become respectable and profitable members of society, and that instead of discouraging such laudable efforts on their parts, you should all contribute your generous assistance to this grand work of reformation.*

Catholics ! are you satisfied that your cause has been advocated against your Protestant Orange adversaries, as far as may be consistent with the principles of a Protestant ?

Then hear him with minds unprejudiced, prepared and open to conviction. You have every proof of his always having been your steady, your disinterested friend.

* It deserves here to be remarked as a known fact, that the lower Catholics endeavour to attach themselves, by a decided preference, to the families of Protestants as masters and employers.

And it also should be remembered, that, in the old volunteer army, the corps of Roman Catholics generally elected Protestant officers, by their usual method of a free ballot.

He addresses himself to the lower orders of Catholics, to most of whom within his reach or influence, his character is not unknown. But with the higher classes of that body, individually or collectively, he has not the honour of being connected, or even acquainted.

He has always been convinced, that the only true and sure foundation whereon to build *their* hopes and claims from the high legislative powers, must be solidly laid, and closely cemented, by the firm establishment of their lower orders in the principles of a sincere and *deserved* attachment to the laws and constitution of their country ; and that any other pretensions that may be urged on their parts, will be judged unreal and unsatisfactory until this grand desideratum be accomplished.

Catholics ! the situation in which you appear at present as citizens of Ireland, is humiliating indeed. Within the shores of your native country you have no services to plead—but alas ! much demerit to atone for.

It must not, however, be concealed, that severely as you may have suffered the heavy pains and penalties of rebellion, with you originated not the crime, nor with your higher orders. No.—The democratic madness of the day took by surprise and assault the feebly fortified understandings of certain discontented

visionary reformists, chiefly Protestants, with whom commenced the direful conspiracy, of which you were made the blind and devoted victims.

It is most painful to be obliged to recal to recollection the many lawless and systematic conspiracies, marked with acts of peculiar atrocity, which, to the disgrace of the Catholics, have sprung up since the Rebellion, and have been suffered to exist in the midst of their body.

It is folly, in the extreme, to allege that these mischievous combinations are guiltless of designs against government, or that they are merely prompted by the private and personal considerations of retaliation for injuries, either past or present ; or for the support of their own interests against the injustice of individuals, through dread of the consequences of their vengeance ; or for their defence against the oppression of Orange-men, or any other body of men, their adversaries.

Whatever may be their motives, they have the sad effect to distract the peace, and prolong the troubles of their country, and to raise a frightful storm, which cannot but burst upon their own heads with all the disgraceful severity of public offended justice.

Such is the state of your present humiliating situation ; which, however discouraging, may still be found far from hopeless.

The remedy will only require, on your parts, a spirit of determination and perseverance to uphold the incomparable laws and constitution of your country, and to regulate your conduct by the dictates of pure christian charity.

Nor will it be required of you, in the pursuit of such desirable objects as the happiness of yourselves and your country, to make any sacrifice of your religious principles, or the duty and attachment you owe to your clergy. On the contrary.—Such are the liberal opinions which are daily enlightening the professors of Christianity, that the blessings of religious toleration are daily increasing.

The following objects for your hope of attainment have been enumerated,—

1.

An increase of wages for labour.

2.

Some permanent relief for your sick and helpless poor.

3.

To be relieved from the billeting of soldiers.

4.

To have the conveyance of military baggage turned to a source of benefit instead of injury.

5.

The cessation of all religious and party dif-

ferences, and the attention and regard of your landlords and all your respectable neighbours, to the comfort and happiness of yourselves and families.

6.

Encouragement and instruction in the improved method of managing ground, to be offered, not only to the owners of small farms, but also to the cottiers themselves.

7.

The heavy tax of the grand-jury assessments to be restrained.

8.

The tithe of the cottier's spot of ground to be valued, and the landlord looked to for payment.

Can the hopes of the attainment of benefits like these invite your exertions of mind and body?—Then attend, with open sincerity of heart, to the means proposed.

All uncharitable and exasperated party prejudices must first be wholly eradicated, and the benign influence of Christian charity must supply their place within your breasts.

Your Orange adversaries encourage an uncharitable spirit, in breach of their Protestant principles; but, in your case, it is discouraging to perceive that the same spirit appears too

closely to agree with that ancient and well-known tenet of your faith, "that out of your church there is no salvation."

And thus you are considered disqualified from meeting, on equal terms, the encouragement you would expect from Protestants, under a Protestant government. And thus you impress upon them the idea of inventing every possible guard against the bad consequences which may arise from your supposed uncharitable opinions.

But this is a principle so universally mischievous in its tendency, that we are to hope it has long since been banished from the creed of every liberal Catholic; and, to the honour of the French, we find that religious toleration was a principal stipulation made on receiving the Bourbons in the person of Louis the 18th.

Political freedom, commerce, and wealth, follow close in the train of religious toleration; but where the royal ear is governed by the ascendancy of intolerant confessors and priests, little can be expected to the welfare of the country. Already has this ruling influence restored the detestable tribunal of the Inquisition in Spain, and repaid, with the basest ingratitude, those patriots who, co-operating with Britain, preserved the kingdom and the throne for the ungrateful and bigotted Ferdinand.

Already are the same principles of action busily at work upon the complying and benevolent mind of the amiable Louis, to the infinite discontent of his French subjects, who had been promised otherwise.

And is it possible that, in a Protestant government, you can expect to be received with the cordiality of religious toleration, unless you thoroughly divest your minds of that uncharitable pernicious principle of consigning altogether to eternal perdition the whole of your fellow creatures, Christians and all, yourselves excepted? for no otherwise can these words be interpreted, "*Extra ecclesiam nulla est salus.*" Or in the words lately used by the Pope's secretary of legation, in the communication to the Irish clergy—"As their's is the only true faith leading to salvation."

Both amount to the same uncharitable conclusion, equally unauthorized against Christian Protestants, by any words, or the torture of any words, in the gospel of the Divine Founder of our religion.

It is earnestly requested, therefore, of all Catholics, before they unfeelingly consign their Protestant fellow Christians to the pains of eternal perdition, in blind submission to the authority of fallible man, that they will them-

selves search the scriptures, and be themselves convinced whether the Protestant principles of faith are in opposition to any one point therein contained.

How devoutly is it to be wished, that you would rest satisfied with believing your own to be the best religion existing, without incurring the imputation of that intolerance which leads to perpetual hatred and hostility between Christians; and that you would adopt every means, public and private, to do away that fatal prepossession against you in the minds of Protestants.

As to those parts of your religion which do not appear to be obnoxious to social intercourse, let Protestants not intermeddle.

Let it then be taken for granted, as it would be monstrous to suppose otherwise, that every disposition of your minds, and every wish of your hearts shall be duly disposed to the divine principles of Christian charity.

Determine to set the laudable example of peaceable conduct and support of the laws, and to endeavour to reclaim your infatuated brethren from their criminal pursuits, not only by declining and discouraging them, but, if necessary, by bringing offenders to justice.

The first step to reformation is to bring all under the cognizance and eye of the law,* that none may lose the protection or punishment they may stand in need of.

* With every possible submission to the wisdom of the legislature, the author takes the liberty of suggesting the following hints for inculcating the blessings of our laws, by bringing home their benign influence almost to the door of every individual.

A country like Ireland ever at variance with itself, must be expected to produce magistrates of very different opinions and prejudices, and different modes of administering justice will prevail, of consequence, in every petty district.

But in every county some individual magistrate might be found unprejudiced by party, of sufficient ability, activity, and estimation, and whose standing of rank upon the roll, may not disgust the other magistrates upon his being called to superintend the peace of the county.

Every county may be divided into three districts, in each of which a sessions to be held four times a year by the superintending magistrate, not only for the trial of certain criminal offences, but also civil bill processes, to a certain amount, which last alone would prove an unspeakable relief to the lower classes. And as this regulation would entirely supersede the necessity of assistant barristers, how small, if any thing, would be the additional expense under proper regulations?

This magistrate to communicate with government, and report upon the state of the peace of the county, being himself subordinate to the control and report of the circuit judges upon his own conduct.

But what an effect must this produce upon the conduct of the other magistrates, by creating a laudable emulation to prove themselves qualified for the succession to this office, and thus securing the permanence of the measure in as great a degree of purity as is possible.

Means of employment are next to be provided, with an equitable rate of wages ; and those who may not be willing to work, and do not possess visible means of support, must be compelled, or otherwise disposed of, to prevent the mischiefs of poverty, idleness, and vice.

Resources of relief for the necessities of sickness, age, and poverty, must then be sought and established ; and lastly, education to youth, and instruction to all must follow,* and crown the whole with permanence and value.

But can it be in the power of the lower Catholics to effect such important purposes ?

Most certainly it can. Upon you, the lower and lowest order of Catholics, much, indeed, depends the happiness of Ireland.

You should be instructed to form friendly societies upon the most laudable and approved principles, under the direction of magistrates, if possible ; men of upright and benevolent principles, who will delight in taking an active part to promote an object of such abundant promise of general advantage.

* The author is entirely of opinion with Judge Fletcher, " that it is vain to flatter ourselves that we can improve their minds, if we neglect their bodies. Where have we ever heard of a people desirous of education, who had not cloaths to cover them, or bread to eat ?"

Your societies should be formed according to the most approved plan that English experience may have confirmed, but modelled to answer your own particular circumstances.

If labourers shall be able to obtain from the bounty of the legislature and their own employers the grant to increase their present wages to eighteen pence a day on the least, they will cheerfully consent, and be most happy to contribute one single penny a day from this unexpected increase,* to secure to themselves and their families the important benefits of a resource against the miseries of ignorance and poverty.

Let this penny a day be retained in the hands of their respective employers, who are to be answerable for the same on the days of the monthly meetings of these societies.†

* Should untoward circumstances prevent this proposed increase taking place, the benevolent plan may still proceed; as the labourer would not feel the loss of one penny a day from any smaller addition that might be made to his present wages.

† *Friendly Societies.*

The author has now before him [the rules of a friendly society, formed January 12, 1802, which he procured from the widow of a poor man who has just died, leaving three infant children; and which case offers a striking example of the amazing advantages to be derived from such institutions.

This penny a day, or sixpence a week, may be thus divided: to the friendly society fund for sick and poor four pence half-penny a week, and to a fund for education three half-pence weekly.

For example: let a parish be supposed to consist of four thousand acres, and at the rate of one labourer to ten acres, it will give four hundred labourers. And these brought into friendly societies, will produce, at four pence half-penny weekly, a yearly fund for the relief of their poor, of four hundred pounds, within a trifle.

It has also before been stated, that in a parish of about the same size, an equal* sum may be raised by tax on the occupiers of land and houses.

For one whole year of this poor man's lingering illness he received ten shillings a week from the stock. And at the end of the year, being reduced to half-pay by the rules of the society, he received, for several months, until his death, five shillings a week.

His widow received four pounds for the expenses of his funeral, and also ten pounds for the use of herself and her children.

The expense of this society is five shillings on admission, one shilling and sixpence at each monthly meeting to the box; and to spend a pot of porter, with some other little occasional fees upon deaths.

And the rules are formed with the best intent imaginable, to inculcate propriety and regularity of conduct, public and private.

* The rent of the parish before stated was rated at eight thousand pounds a year, which is a low valuation if supposed

Here are eight hundred pounds a year in one parish for the relief of your poor!

These four hundred labourers will also, at the rate of three half-pence a week each, produce a yearly sum of one hundred and thirty pounds towards the education of their own children, whether the several individuals may have them then or in future.

Nor shall the good effects of friendly societies be supposed to stop here: they will operate as a most wholesome control over the morals and habits of the people.

They must all be brought into notice—all must attend on their monthly days, spend their pot of beer together, hear the reports of the progress of their societies, the expenditure of their money, and the state of their funds. And it might be hoped that their meetings should also be sanctioned by the appearance of their respectable neighbours.

At these meetings enquiries may be had into the conduct of suspicious characters, and many other little matters may be managed conducive to the regulation of the peace, by which each petty district will become, as it were, one family, to contain four thousand acres, and the tax would produce four hundred pounds a year.

So that the relief of the poor would thus be equally divided between themselves and the rich.

and actuated by one principle, as the guardians of their own peace and happiness.

It is inconceivable to what a degree of advantage, public and private, an active philanthropic spirit might extend these valuable friendly societies.

Finally, in the regulation of your behaviour to Orange-men, rest assured that the opposition of violence and a spirit of revenge must inevitably heap coals of fire upon your own heads.

Would you that their associations should cease and die away? Cease then to supply the food upon which they exist! Cease from all criminal combinations and acts of outrage!

Endeavour, by your exemplary conduct, to reconcile to yourselves, and win over to your friendship, numbers of highly respectable and benevolent men, who at present espouse that party, as being the loyal supporters of the government of the country.

Shew yourselves henceforth to be their successful rivals in true loyalty, in support of the laws and the constitution; and, what is more than they, in the preservation of peace and good order.

Let *your* societies prove themselves superior in producing the divine effects of charity, the blessings of liberal education, and the

happy consequences which flow from a well-regulated, religious, and moral conduct.

And upon your anniversary days, when you walk in solemn procession to the house of God, with your white staves in your hands, and bearing the happy union of the rose and the shamrock displayed in your loyal banners; then shall you fully enjoy the sweets of your new situation, and the heart-felt satisfaction of the blessings* of those whom you shall have thus rescued from the miseries of poverty, sickness and ignorance.

To conclude. May you, the Catholics of Ireland, believe a true friend, who is most sincerely anxious for your welfare, that upon the effects of the union, and upon the magnanimity of the British legislature, should rest your hopes for the completion of all you can want or desire for your content and happiness.

The royal personage, Regent of the realm, the government, the legislature, and the people of Britain in general, are all sensible, all grateful for your eminent services in their late glorious and successful struggles for liberty with the whole world.

It cannot but be their most earnest wish, as it is their true interest to conciliate your loyalty

* The poor who receive relief, and the children of the schools should also walk in the processions.

and attachment, by placing you in your own country on the full and free footing of British subjects, and raising you to the same degree of respectability and estimation.

And bear well in your mind, that by your steady perseverance in the paths of peace and civilization, you will be laying the surest foundation for the ultimate attainment of the laudable pursuits and hopes of your own higher ranks.*

Another cause of distress to the lower classes in Ireland is the difficulty of procuring land for small farmers.

Here is a case where the legislature cannot interfere ; but it will be expedient to examine into the nature of the complaint.

Letting of land, like all other concerns of traffic, will generally be guided by the contrary interests of the parties engaged therein.

Suppose a large farm out of lease at the expiration of a long term of years or lives, or both, after having passed through the hands of a number of middle men, few or none of whom

* The author declines to enter upon the subject of the claims of the higher Catholics to participation in the legislative and executive government, &c. ; as all the ability and learning of the united empire appears to have been already exhausted in long and patient discussions upon the subject in and out of parliament.

perhaps have occupied the lands, but have enjoyed from them a yearly profit or income, by re-letting to under tenants at the highest rate.

The probability in this case is, that the land has been returned to the landlord in a waste and exhausted condition.

The occupying tenants have been perhaps honest, industrious, and frugal men, even to misery; but completely impoverished by exorbitant rents and assessments, and an entire ignorance of proper management.

The landlord is naturally irritated, because after a series of years, in the latter of which he has received but a small proportion of the real value of his ground, from the great increase of the value of its produce, he still finds it in a miserable and unimproved state; and in this temper of mind, he spurns at the expectation of a tenant's right, and dismisses the poor occupiers of his ground, who are thus reduced to beggary and despair.

Can it be expected that any landlord, without a most uncommon share of disinterested benevolence and generosity, will permit these lands to remain in the hands of tenants who have proved so incontestably their incapacity, and their want of means for their cultivation?

What is then to be done?—Unwilling to

encounter the expense and the trouble of putting the farm into proper condition of being let, he advertises it to the best and highest bidder, and lets it upon lease, generally thirty-one years, or three lives, whichever shall last longest, to some person or persons who command a preference from the estimation of their property, or a sum of money by way of fine to the landlord, or present to the agent, or perhaps all together.

The new lease is made at the improved rent, without any clause to prevent the alienation of the farm, or to enforce residence; and thus again commences the same ruinous system as before.

Let us consider how these matters are conducted in England.

* “ When a farm is to be re-let, the surveyor considers the produce to be expected from the grounds, the convenience of markets and conveyance thereto, poor rates, highways, and all parochial rates, particularly tithes, and whether taken in kind or composition. He takes these deductions from the actual produce, and gives

* Given in evidence, by an old experienced land surveyor, to a Committee of the House of Commons, upon the subject of the Corn Laws, in 1814.

the farmer a fair proportion of the profits, which is generally rated thus :—a third for the farmer, a third for the landlord, and a third for the expenses. But there can be no certain rule ; it must vary according to particular cases.”

Here is a just proceeding on the part of the landlord. But it is expected on that of the tenant, that he shall not only possess the knowledge, but the means also of putting it fully into practice. And none others would presume to offer as tenants, or expect to be continued in their farms.

Were the case to occur in England, of a small farmer, who had given up his last farm in as bad a state as the one supposed in Ireland, and had proved himself possessed of as little knowledge and capital ; there is no doubt but that he would be universally rejected as a tenant, and reduced to the necessity of working as a farmer’s servant, until his stock of knowledge and money had increased, so as to render him acknowledged competent to the conduct of a farm of his own ; and then, and not until then, would he meet with encouragement.

This is discouraging to the Irish farmer ; but the truth must be stated ; nor are we to cast the entire blame upon the rapacity and unfeeling cruelty of Irish landlords and their agents.

There is, no doubt, too much cause for the accusation of neglect to the interests of their tenantry, who should be instructed and superintended in the improved agricultural system, and to which the absentees especially, even for their own interests sake, should largely contribute.

It is the undoubted interest of landlords to encourage that useful class of men, the small farmers; and it would amply repay their trouble and expense to establish a pattern farm, laid out and cultivated under the most approved course of crops, where his tenants might gain instruction from a judicious combination of practice and theory.

This points out the necessity of respectable resident agents to large properties, men of probity, of intelligent minds, and sufficient agricultural knowledge, to reside upon, and cultivate the pattern farm, and to communicate to the tenants, at stated times and meetings, his information upon the most necessary points, illustrated, upon the spot, by ocular demonstration of the practice.

Nor should his attention be limited to the interest of the farmers alone.

To * ameliorate the state of the peasantry

* They whose benevolent minds incline to administer to the necessities of their poor fellow creatures, and to raise

will equally claim his solicitude, and will equally reward his labours.

To establish and regulate their benefit societies, and the objects to be obtained thereby. To attend their meetings, and turn them to the best advantage. To instruct the cottier in the most approved system of management for his cottage and spot of ground, and to show the

them to comfort and happiness, should visit the seat of Peter Latonche, Esq. in the county Wicklow, and at Bellevue witness the happily matured effects of active benevolence, and the true appropriation of unostentatious wealth.

Scattered over that romantically beautiful demesne, will every where be seen the smiling face of comfortable and contented industry, enlivened with the cheerful cottages of an attached peasantry, which earnestly invite, and fully gratify the most minute attention, as well from their neat simplicity and internal economy, as the picturesque taste of their appearance and situation.

Upon such objects the liberal mind delights to dwell. The happiness of the poor is a genuine test of a wise government, and a flourishing community.

To particularize the bountiful and judiciously economical arrangements at Bellevue, for the benefit of humankind, from infancy to age, which, under the blessings of Providence, long have flourished, and are still drawing nearer to perfection in this happy mansion of peace, would require a volume.

Suffice it to say, that the personal and pious attention of that excellent lady, whose judicious benevolence originally planned, hath ever since, unremittingly persevered to regulate each department, animating the whole with the same intelligent and beneficent spirit, and presenting the interesting picture of a scene of happiness rarely to be found.

Exertions, productive of similar effects, are more or less in the power of all. "Go and do thou likewise."

example of a pattern cottage and family, with printed rules of practice.

Certainly such men* might be found, and their conduct, with that of the course of farming, and other necessary matters, may be regulated according to the judgment and pleasure of the landlord. And the system, once regulated and established, may afterwards be generally conducted by men of inferior education and abilities.

Thus would be created a tenantry with a race of peasants, blessed with all the comforts that flow from the fruits of a well-directed industry; and, ultimately, far more advantageous to individual as well as national prosperity, than the indolent and unfeeling mode of driving an old tenantry to ruin and despair; whereby future advantages are sacrificed for the comparatively trifling present one of dealing with land-jobbers, who may, probably, shortly after relet the lands to the same, or some such tenantry, at a high advanced rent, to pursue the same miserable impoverished practises as before.

* The author, at this time, knows a gentleman of education and experience, who is fully impressed with the advantage of the foregoing opinions, and the method of carrying them into execution; and who, upon proper encouragement, would dedicate his whole time and abilities to accomplish this beneficial plan.

It needs scarce be insisted on to those for whose advantages, as tenants, these hints were designed, the necessity of proving themselves deserving of such generous indulgence and encouragement.

Lawless combinations to retain forcible possession, must increase to themselves the ruinous evil of which they complain. They furnish landlords with a plausible excuse for the continuation of their unfeeling practises, and they draw down upon themselves the strong arm of power, and the vengeance of the offended laws.

It is evident, however, that there can be no direct remedy or relief for the distress of small farmers not being able to procure land.

An appeal to the feeling and interest of the landlord, and to the common sense of the tenant, is all that can be proposed.

Not so with the oppressive tax of county assessments. There the legislature may interfere with good effect, by limiting the sums to be raised off the baronies, and also the counties at large, for the several purposes to each respectively belonging, after the example of an Act (called Lord Mountjoy's) for the regulation of grand-jury assessments for the county of Dublin.*

* The limited powers of this Act not having been found

The inducements for grand juries to swell their assessments to an exorbitant amount, have already been noticed.

Were this necessary and useful trust bounded within reasonable limits, gentlemen could not then, with any sense of propriety, insist upon passing their presentments of private interest, in preference, and to the exclusion of others of acknowledged public advantage; or, at least, the landholders would be spared the extraordinary taxation.

The last enumerated distress of the lower people, is that of Tithe; upon which subject the author purposes to confine himself to hints for the relief of the poor labouring class alone, which being chiefly Catholic, feels, with greater distress, the hardship of paying two sets of clergy.

The Protestant clergy should not be deprived of their dues; but let not the feelings of the wretched peasant, "steeped in poverty to the lips," be irritated by the visits of the unfeeling tithe proctor to his hardly earned potatoe garden. Can there be any objection to a regulation of the following nature?—

sufficient for the late extraordinary demands, a new Act has made houses as well as lands liable to the assessment in that thickly inhabited county.

That no occupier, Protestant or Catholic, of less than three acres, shall be visited by any tithe proctor or valuator of his crop, but that the tithe owner shall be obliged to accept of a composition in money, in lieu of the same, which he is to demand from, and be paid by the landlord of the cottier; and in no case by the cottier himself. And although it may be probable that the whole of this composition may ultimately fall upon the cottier, in the shape of rent, still the amount may be more moderate, and the irritation of the tithe proctor's visit will be entirely avoided.

It is to be observed, that the clergy in Ireland have formerly been deprived of their right to the tithe of agistment, for land employed in feeding cattle, by a vote of the Irish House of Commons.

This is a national mischief. It discourages tillage, by promoting the depopulating system of pasturage. It oppresses the poor by the indulgence of the rich, and deprives the clergy of their rights over extensive tracts of pasturage, which induces them to visit, with more severity, the thinly scattered spots of tillage. But this, no doubt, will be taken into consideration upon some future day, when the important question of tithes comes to be agitated; for come it

must; when the improvement of agriculture, from the accumulated efforts of genius, capital, and labour, shall arise to a state of perfection beyond what we can at present conceive.

Thus have been investigated the causes of the depression of the poor in Ireland; and from which their perpetual discontents and disturbances may fairly be deduced as the true and natural consequences.

How fruitless then, after the experience of ages to the contrary, still to persist in expecting that the multiplication of penal laws, will prove the sole and sovereign panacea for evils so long and so deeply deprecated?

Hitherto the poor Irish seem to have been considered as a sort of savage beast, (*feræ naturæ*) who are to be reduced to a state of docility only by the effects of hunger and correction.

As it is, by this time, sufficiently evident that this method does not succeed, may it not be, at length, worth the while to consider how far the treatment of beasts of a domestic nature may be ventured to apply to their case; and whether housing, feeding, and encouraging, as with the dog or the horse, may not be attended with a similar effect, and promote their attachment, by deserving it.—For shame, for shame!

It has been the deep regret of the author,

during his whole life, to perceive the fatal consequences of the mistaken treatment of the lower classes in Ireland; and he has waited, during a long tedious course of years, with eager impatience, in expectation of a moment, auspicious as the present, to bring forward, with some hopes of effect, a subject thus important to the interests of the empire.

Now—now is the time to heal the wounds—to sooth the afflictions—and to ensure the future happiness of distracted Ireland.

The five following subjects have been considered as looking up to the particular interference of the legislative power.

1.

The regulation of the wages of labourers.

2.

The enabling parishes to raise a certain limited yearly sum for the relief of their poor.

3.

An alteration in the Irish Mutiny Act, in the clauses for billeting of soldiers, and conveyance of military baggage.

4.

A limitation of the power of grand-juries, in their assessments upon baronies and counties at large respectively.

5.

A regulation of the cottier's tithe.

Let these be examined, turned, twisted, and tortured, in every possible point of view.—Can their concession be supposed to offer any violence whatever to the constitution?—or to endanger, in any manner, the interests of the church or state?—or is there herein any thing required, but what has been either already granted, or might be so, to British subjects?

But incalculable, indeed, are the advantages which may be naturally expected to flow from thence. In place of the most disgraceful continued state of discontent, disturbance, and even rebellion, which sufficiently indicates a mismanagement dishonourable to the splendour of the British constitution,—are to be expected to arise the conciliation and attachment of the Irish peasantry to the British government,—the consequent tranquillity and improvement of their country, and the increased glory of Britain, by diverting, from jealousy and disaffection, the very vigour and spirit of the Irish nation, to display their best energies in the common cause of the united empire.

Then should we see that there exists no inherent noxious quality in the soil of Ireland,

to debase her native sons; but that Irishmen at home, dealt with as British subjects, can prove themselves equally loyal, brave, and deserving, as when signaling themselves abroad under the generous protection of the triumphant British colours, both by sea and land.

There can be no doubt but that the British part of the legislature would willingly lend their concurrence to the accomplishment of such desirable objects. It is their bounden interest; and must be supposed also their desire, to prove to the lower Irish the blessings they were intended to enjoy from a *real* union with Great Britain; a true participation of her rights and advantages.

It is impossible to suppose but the Irish legislators, who favoured the union, will be anxious thus to demonstrate some happy effects arising from a measure, which is at present considered by the people of Ireland as deeply obnoxious to their interests.

And those Irish patriots, who were adverse to the union, cannot certainly withhold their approbation and support from means calculated to soften and alleviate the alledged distress of that measure.

Whence then can a dissenting voice arise?

What is there to render illusive these dawning hopes of comfort to the wretched peasantry of Ireland?—It would be an insult to Irish feeling and generosity for a moment to suppose that the miserable consideration of an increase of wages to their labourers, or a composition of relief for their poor, should contract the well-known benevolence of the Irish character.

Generous Britons!—You have stood forward as the enlightened advocates of suffering humanity throughout the world. Your benign exertions have pervaded every corner of the habitable globe, where your assistance could benefit the human race. And you have drawn down the blessings of Heaven upon your highly favoured land.

You have already embraced your sister country within your extensive philanthropic views, and set on foot the most liberal plans for her education and instruction. But, alas! by an unhappy combination of circumstances, she requires the fostering wings of the British constitution to render her capable of profiting by your intended beneficence.

May you therefore, in pursuance of that unbounded spirit of benevolence, be induced to combine your earnest exertions and influence,

for the purpose of engaging the whole united powers of the realm in this interesting work of national importance and Christian charity.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Part the first, page the 25th.

“Gaiety and generosity of the Irish character.”

The author can vouch for the truth of the following anecdote.

A captain in a certain regiment, much straitened in his circumstances, at the settling of the month's clearance with the men of his company, was in debt to a countryman of his own, an Irishman, for a sum the payment of which he had long evaded, and which was much more than usual in such cases.

He handed the clearance roll to the man, and desired him to sign it, observing that there was such a sum to his credit, and which he might call for upon a future occasion.

“Please your honour, I’d be glad of the money now, at this present.”—“Oh then, it’s money you want,” said the captain, pulling out a drawer full of it, which caught the man’s delighted eyes;—“Well, do you sign the roll whilst I reckon it out.”

The poor fellow without hesitation signed the roll, and handed it to his captain, who received it, and returning the drawer to its place, said with a good-humoured smile, “Another time, my good fellow, I think will answer full as well.”

The man at first stared with astonishment; but presently delighted with the joke, burst into a fit of laughter, and bowing retired.

The commanding officer became acquainted with the circumstance, and sending for the man, offered to have him redressed; to which he would by no means consent. “Ah! no—poor fellow!” says he. “Please your honour, he wanted it more than I did myself.”

Part the first, page the 81st.

UNION SONG.

1.

'Tis strange on my life this nonsensical fuss,
Why Cooke, Taafe, and Spencer, with Weld in a flurry
Have addled their brains in a rage to discuss,
And then dished them up to the town in a hurry.

But why at their skulls
They 've made such mad pulls,
The case is now stated, and every one knows ;
And be what it will,
Our wish shall be still,
Joy and health to Cornwallis, wherever he goes.

2.

The genius of Britain, who long had enjoyed
Supreme, as a keeper, Miss Ireland's charms ;
Mad jealous that Miss with republicans toyed,
And seemed half inclined to escape from his arms :

He swore, in a rage,
He'd surely encage
His mistresses person, and hold her for life ;
He'd make her his own,
His flesh and his bone ;
He'd lawfully wed her, and call her his wife.

3.

But Miss most capricious now flirts it away,
For, ah ! her poor heart in *three halves* is divided ;
Her loose lawless pleasures now tempt her to stray,
Her candour and worth is to wedlock much guided.

False pride then steps in,
 And chucks up her chin,
 And cries, “ if you marry, you’ll never be free ;
 Great Cæsar’s proud wife,
 I’d scorn it for life ;
 No—keep yourself Mistress, or W—e, as you be.”

4.

By loose lawless pleasures sweet Miss be not ruled,
 Nor quit your old keeper to yield to a stranger ;
 A tyrant by whom you’ll be plunder’d and fooled ;
 And trust me, dear Miss, in the trial there’s danger.

Besides, in the scuffle
 Your person they’ll ruffle,
 For Britain’s proud genius wont tamely resign ;
 So, tattered and torn,
 An outcast forlorn,
 Too late at past follies you’ll sorely repine.

5.

Then down with loose pleasures, and down with false
 pride,
 Let candour and worth in your breast but prevail, Miss ;
 And prove to old Britain a true faithful bride,
 Then peace and prosperity never will fail, Miss.
 Lord Hymen most grand
 Cornwallis shall stand,
 In robes of pure saffron, his gay wedding cloaths ;
 Whilst shouts rais’d on high
 Shall rend the glad sky,
 “ Joy and health to Cornwallis, wherever he goes !”

J. Edwards, 1799.

Part the second, page the 74th.

ORANGE SONG.

1.

To glorious Old Will, in Elysium's blest field,
A few sons of liberty sent a petition,
That he would again be old Ireland's shield,
And protect her poor sons from despotic perdition.

For mad wolves in his name,
Wherever they came,
Set houses and hay-stacks, and all in a flame;
And they swore, vile blasphemers, 'twas William's old
cause,
To trample on freedom, and outrage the laws.

2.

In Armagh they began, how did Charlemont fume,
To see such sad dogs wear the sacred old ribband;
These doctrines, quoth he, must be stolen from Rome,
Inspired by Hell—or the damn'd Inquisition.

For this was our aim,
Wherever we came,
To raise Freedom's altar; and still we proclaim,
That it never, no never, was William's old cause,
To trample on freedom, or outrage the laws.

3.

From thence straight they ran to the shire of Tyrone,
And labour'd to tarnish the old Orange glory;
But staunch Killymoon did the mock Whigs disown,
And call'd them a band of rank Custom-house Tories.

Yes, they're all every one,
 The vile tools of *king John,
 Magna Charta's all over, and liberty's gone ;
 'Twas Nero's damn'd dictates, but never Nassau's,
 To trample on freedom, or outrage the laws.

4.

The Prince of the Boyne, with surprise and affright,
 Heard the tale, heav'd a sigh, and vow'd he'd redress
 them ;

So his shade sought good George in the dead of the
 night,

And thus the old friend of fair freedom address him.—

No more let my name,

Be of miscreants the theme,

By resisting the tyrants, I purchas'd my fame ;

They lie ! who pretend that its William's old cause,

To trample on freedom, or outrage the laws.

5.

Throughout his dominions then George sought around,

For a chief with a hero's true sentiments fired ;

Of valour undaunted, experience profound,

To conquer or sooth, as occasion required.

When lo ! from afar

Beam'd an eastern star,

Which shines still propitious in peace or in war ;

And he sent us Cornwallis for the genuine cause,

To rescue our freedom—restore us our laws.

G. N. Reynolds, 1798.

* A well known Orange leader of high rank

F I N I S.



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